

KEEP STRONG

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Sunnyside Mall: Community Seeks Action
Six Years After The Murder Of Fred Hampton

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POLICE STATE?



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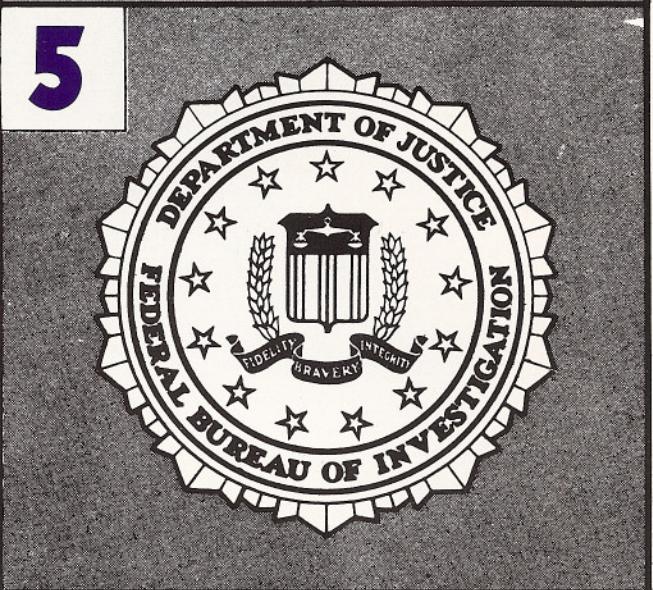
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In This Issue

1. Is police repression the government's response to economic hard times? Are we living in a growing police state in Chicago? A recent grand jury investigation suggests we are. (See Editorial and article, page 22)

2. Evidence mounts that the killing of Fred Hampton was ordered at the highest levels, but the cover-up continues. page 24

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Hard Times, Resistance & Repression

Six years have passed since Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were brutally assassinated in their apartment by Hanrahan's special raiding force of Chicago police. Citizen protest against police brutality and police repression of grass roots organizations has come and gone, and come again. On November 12th, the Chicago Sun-Times editorial was entitled "It's time to cry halt to the police state in Chicago." But little has changed in police practice. In fact, supported with frequent statements by Daley and Rochford, the police have become self-righteous and arrogant in their defense of blatantly unconstitutional actions.

Nor can we expect relief from what even the Sun-Times has called the "Police State in Chicago." As people throughout the poor and oppressed communities will quickly testify, police terror has mounted greatly in the last few months. The reason for the step up should be clear to us. The police state is the only solution to economic hard times — rising prices, rising unemployment, cutbacks in federal programs — that national and local governments are offering to the people.

Hard times breed resistance — whether it is the organized resistance of an organized community or the individual resistance of a poor brother or sister who refuses to starve quietly. Resistance on the part of poor and oppressed people breeds repression. Repression — to protect the few while the many are suffering — is the current theme and guiding force of the Chicago Police Department.

Fred Hampton, whose name and message have long outlived the life that was taken from him, should have taught us at least two things: economic repression comes first and hardest to the door of Black people and other people of color; so repression and the developing police state also come hardest there. And, as Brother Fred predicted, there is today a massive attempt to mobilize whites around racism in order to justify the repression of Black and Third World people. The rise of the KKK, busing protests in Louisville and Boston backed by government spokesmen and racial violence in Chicago are just a few examples.

Fred Hampton proved the invaluable importance of organizations such as the Black Panther Party which exist to awaken us to our right to resist. The Black Panther Party through its many survival programs has asserted, in a way everyone can understand, the right of poor and oppressed people to

"The police state is the only solution to economic hard times — rising prices, rising unemployment, cutbacks in federal programs — that national and local governments are offering to the people."



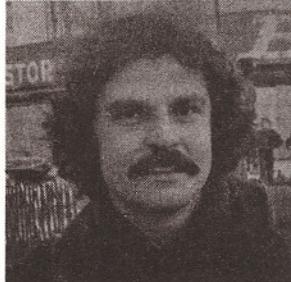
Fred Hampton

decent housing, medical care, full employment and relevant education. By its own courageous resistance, the Black Panther Party has exposed the repressive police state apparatus that is shifting into full gear in these times of economic oppression.

We dedicate this issue of KEEP STRONG to Fred Hampton, the Black Panther Party and the right to resist. □

ON THE STREET

"WAS THE KILLING OF FRED HAMPTON A POLITICAL ASSASSINATION?"



**Frank McEntee
1437 Sherwin**

"I think it was part of a systematic attempt to eliminate militant political leaders within the Black community — or the white community. And I think it was a political assassination. It's quite obvious by the investigation after the murder supposedly there was a response by the police to shooting by Fred Hampton and others in the apartment. But it (the investigation) showed that most of the bullets and everything else were fired by the police, use of heavy weapons, etc."



**Jose Sanchez
4244 N. Kenmore**

"I think it was a set-up."



**Arlene Marschke
4125 N. Kenmore**

"I do think the assassination of Fred Hampton was political from what I read in the papers mostly. They wanted to get rid of him. He was causing too much commotion, too much trouble . . . according to the police. He was bringing things up that they didn't want to have brought up. That's all, and that's why."



**Gabrielle Hernandez
4880 N. Kenmore**

"I don't really know because I wasn't in Chicago at the time that it happened. But from reading about it, I think it was a political assassination or something to do with it."



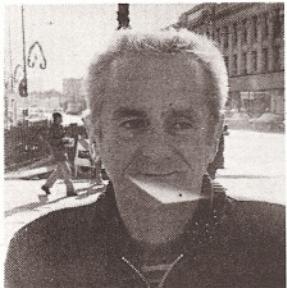
Vivena Roberts

"Yes, I think it was, otherwise why is there so much about it? From what I know about it, I think it is."

Peggy Wayman
4545 N. Sheridan



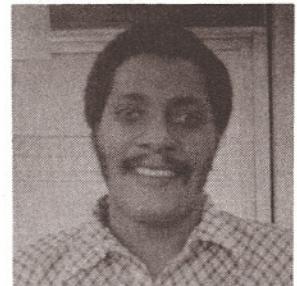
"Yes, I do . . . because Mayor Daley, he didn't want the Blacks to come up or Indians or Spanish or Orientals to come up. You know they shot through his doors. I even stood downtown for him. I marched. I was one of the ones who marched. I was just little then but still that remains in my brain. I would like nothing to happen like that to anybody."



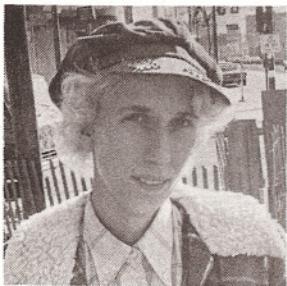
Mike Hemmis
6040 N. Winthrop

"As far as a political killing, I don't know, but it has all the earmarks of being a revenge killing. It looks like it was set up, and it was more or less done deliberately. That's the way I feel about it."

Maurice Bell



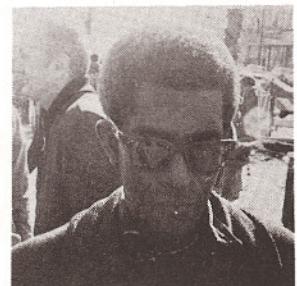
"The more I read in the paper about what the FBI has been doing, it's only to prove that that's all it is — a political assassination — for the simple reason that he was in a Black group. The federal government doesn't think it should be an organization. I figure, from Washington, D.C., the word came down — it was time for him to go. This is what happened. Sure I believe it was political; it couldn't be nothing else but that."



Mary Ann White
4438 N. Beacon

"I think it was assassination."

Vince Baron
655 W. Grace



"By all means — definitely. I think that . . . Daley and Hanrahan and all were in cahoots to get rid of all of the people representing the Black Panther Party . . ."



Augie Colon
4755 N. Magnolia

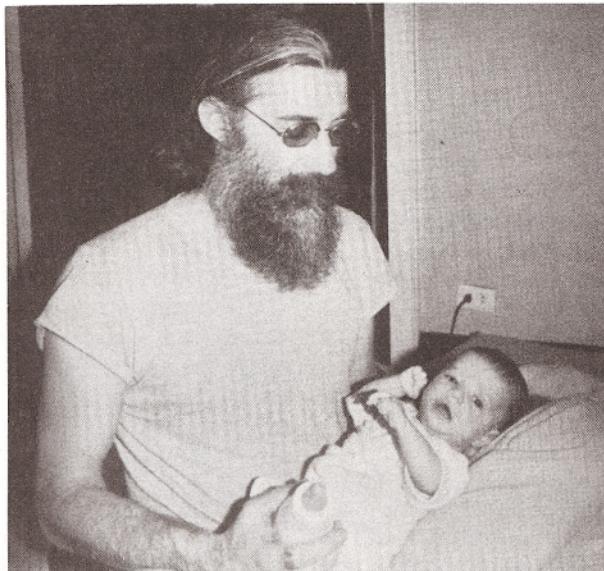
"I do believe that it was a political assassination. I figure that Fred Hampton was a threat to the power structure of this country. Therefore, he had to be eliminated just as other revolutionaries have to be eliminated. And I don't believe that it's going to stop the struggle. It's going to keep going because one person don't make it. You know, he was a guide for us, but the man is always coming down killing people. Someday things will turn. That's all I want to say."

WELFARE RIGHTS

Father Denied AFDC

Sexism is discrimination on the basis of sex. When we hear this term we usually think of the particular ways in which women are oppressed and the particular problems that they face. But just as racism oppresses white people as well as Black people and other people of color, sexism oppresses men as well as women. Here is an example.

Richard "J.C." Stitz has a beautiful newborn son, Samuel, of whom he is very proud. The baby's mother, Francine Clifford, is in the Women's Correctional Facility in South Dakota. Richard brought the baby home to Chicago and has been caring for him. He got a big shock and a lot of headaches when he went into the welfare office to apply for AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) for himself and the baby. He was refused AFDC on the grounds that he could not prove he was the baby's father even though he had the baby's birth certificate with his name on it as well as notarized letters from the baby's mother declaring that he was unquestionably the baby's father. They denied him on the basis of AFDC Manual Topic 440 which states that *the father of a child born out of*



Richard "J.C." Stitz and his beautiful newborn son.

wedlock is considered to be the child's parent only if paternity is legally established. No one bothered to assist him in gaining what would be considered legal establishment of paternity. They just turned him down flat.

They said he and the baby were eligible for general assistance. Although you get a few more dollars for a family of two on AFDC than general assistance, there are several more important differences for which "J.C." is fighting.

These things apply to AFDC and ADC and not to general assistance.

1. Dental care and eyeglasses are covered on the green card.
2. When you are cut off because you have found employment, the state must continue to send your medical card for *four months*.
3. When you have a child under six you are not forced to participate in the two work programs, WRS and WIN.

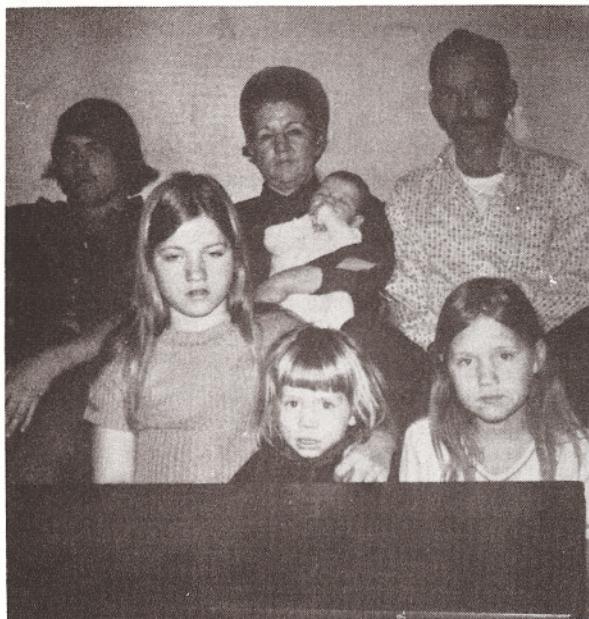
"J.C." is going to appeal the decision on his application, and if he loses, take the state to court in a class action suit (so that the decision would apply to anyone in a similar situation), because he realizes that laws such as this affect every poor man who desires to be responsible to his children and who takes an active role in developing his children. □

UNEMPLOYMENT

No Jobs, No Benefits Pending For 90,000 In Illinois

Billy Joe French has been a road travel truck driver for 12 years. From 1971 to 1974 he worked for Warner Continental making 3 runs a week between Boston, Massachusetts and St. Paul, Minnesota. During this time, he averaged \$350-\$400 for a good 60 hour week.

In December, 1974, three weeks before



Billy Joe French and his family: no jobs, no benefits.

Christmas, Billy Joe was laid off. He shortly began to receive \$118 a week in unemployment compensation to feed, clothe and house his growing family. During this 8 month period, his family's savings were used up. In August, 1975, his wife Maxine gave birth to their 6th child. Also in August, he was called back to work at Warner Continental, making one run a week. His take home pay averaged \$114 a week. In October, his wife was forced to undergo surgery.

On November 4th, Billy Joe used up the first 26 weeks of unemployment compensation paid by the state from funds contributed by employers. Then, he used up 9 of the next 13 weeks' benefits paid jointly by the federal and state governments. Unemployment workers at the Kedzie Ave. office insist, however, that he is not eligible for the final 26 weeks of benefits which should be paid entirely by the federal government and which should be available to all unemployed workers once the first 39 weeks have gone by and they still haven't found work.

Billy Joe French is not alone. It has been estimated that the number of persons who have used up their unemployment benefits will increase ten fold in the next three months. With more than 300,000 people "officially" unemployed in the Chicago area, and over 500,000 unemployed throughout the state, the Illinois Department of Labor has estimated that 90,000 jobless workers are currently in the final category of unemployment payments, meaning that soon there will be no more benefits or jobs for them. □

Day Care Workers Strike

Child care workers at three day care centers administered by Lutheran Welfare Services of Illinois have been on strike to get a contract for better child care since November 3rd. Employees for Augustana Nursery for Retarded Children also administered by Lutheran Welfare have been striking since October 31st.

A recent sit-in at Lutheran Welfare's main office, 4840 W. Byron, was attended by 50 workers, parents and their children. Participants cited a series of administrative policies as causes of the strike. Community people (mostly mothers) working at the centers are badly paid. They receive half the salary of social workers and teachers resulting in a high turnover of personnel. "In the last year 35 people have been hired to fill 25 positions," according to one striker.

Day care workers and parents also demanded more community (parent) control of centers, credit for on the job training and a bill of rights.

Two of the facilities — 4848 N. Winthrop and 5409 N. Magnolia — have been entirely closed down due to the parent boycott. The third center at 5301 N. Marine Drive has been significantly affected by the strike, and Lutheran Welfare has threatened to close the centers down completely if the strike doesn't end. They say that they are usually reimbursed for the expense of the centers from the Chicago Model Cities agency, which gets its money from the State Department of Children and Family Services and requires minimal community participation in programs in order for funds to be available. They say that the participation in November has been below the limit, and funds will be cut.

As a result of the November 19th sit-in, Lutheran Welfare agreed to negotiations with the day care workers' union and a federal mediator. Earlier in the fall, the National Labor Relations Board agreed to step in and help start negotiations. When this mediation fell through and the NLRB backed off, they went on strike. □

Getting Ready For Winter

Along with winter comes an increase of sore throats, earaches, coughs, colds, the "flu," pneumonia, and other related upper respiratory problems. The constant battle for good health becomes harder yet when there aren't enough warm clothes, shoes or boots. We face cold drafts, not enough heat or sometimes blasts of too much heat. The air in an average Chicago apartment is drier than the Sahara desert and unhealthy. Then add the fact that medical care which *prevents* illness before it starts hardly exists. And once you *are* ill, the care available is expensive and not regularly of good quality. These conditions can make winter a brutal time.

DEALING WITH FEVER

Fever, an increase in body temperature, is a part of many illnesses. Both keeping a check on how high the fever is and bringing the fever down are important.

If possible check temperature every few hours (more often when it is high), and write down the time and temperature. A thermometer to be used by mouth and a rectal thermometer for small children are useful to have on hand. Three full minutes by mouth and five rectally should give an accurate reading. 98.6° by mouth or 99.6° rectally is the most common "normal" temperature. Stored in a safe place, thermometers should be wiped down with alcohol after use to get rid of germs and rinsed in cool water (hot water can break them).

The most common medicines to reduce fever are aspirin and tylenol (used for small children and those who can't take aspirin). Both come in regular adult and children's strengths. The usual amount listed on the package is right for most people. But each person is different, and some are allergic altogether to aspirin. Specific instructions are needed for infants. If a person is vomiting, rectal aspirin suppositories can be helpful. *Check the dosage carefully.*

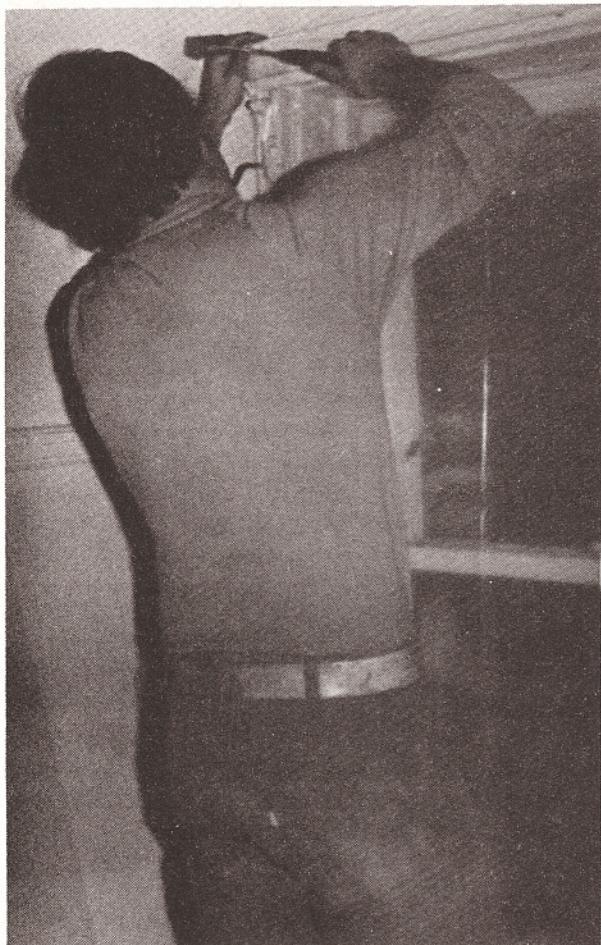
Resting and drinking liquids actually help put



Keeping a check on the fever is important.

the body in the best position to gather its own forces to fight germs. It's doubly important because the illness and the fever itself can wear you out. Drinking fluids helps keep the body from getting too dried out (dehydrated), and the extra liquid helps fight the fever.

If the fever is high (say 103°) and not coming down or when a child has had convulsions from fever in the past (say 102°), it may be good to sponge or bathe them down gently. Use lukewarm water, not cold, because it is best to try to bring the fever down at a steady pace — not so fast that chills and shivers might push it back up again, even higher. While sponging the person down for 4 - 6 minutes, remember especially to sponge the pulse points: the neck, under the arms, the groin, back of knees and ankles. Most people find it comforting to have their forehead or face sponged quietly. Then put on lightweight clothing and cover and be certain there is no draft. (Not enough cover can encourage chills; too much can make it too hot.) Check the temperature again in about 15 minutes. *Any sign of convulsions requires immediate medical aid.*



The constant battle for good health becomes harder in winter

Medical assistance may be needed to bring a fever down. It is needed more often to find out and treat the underlying cause of the fever.

CHECK FOR STREP THROAT

Sore throats are part of many winter illnesses, caused by a large variety of germs. *If a sore throat lasts for several days, it is extremely important to find out which germs are causing it.* One common throat infection, strep throat, is caused by a bacteria called "Group A Beta Hemolytic Streptococcus." If it is not treated, the sore throat may go away, but the bacteria can get to work in other parts of the body and do serious damage. This bacteria can cause rheumatic heart disease and kidney problems.

To find out if strep is causing the sore throat, the doctor should order a throat culture — a quick swab of the throat with something like a Q-tip. Within 48 hours you will know if strep is there. If so, it definitely needs to be treated with antibiotics even if the sore throat is easing up.

Strep is very contagious, so if it is found in one person, others in the family should have a throat culture too, even if no one else has a sore throat. This practice is necessary because the strep germ can be carried in a person without any symptoms at all. Schools really should check all children with sore throats for strep as a part of a program to prevent heart disease. But since this is not done, we have to take the responsibility.

OTHER SIGNALS TO LOOK FOR

Other common signs that an upper respiratory illness is not just a cold include: chest pain, difficulty breathing, a cough that does not clear up, or a cough that produces liquid that is yellowish, greenish, dark, has touches of blood, or smells odd. Earaches usually need medical attention to clear up infection. Many people use a few drops of sweet oil slightly warmed (test it on your wrist) and a bit of cotton in the ear or a hot water bottle to ease the pain. This *does not* fight the infection, however. Untreated ear infections can lead to more serious complications or possible hearing loss.

INSIST ON A THOROUGH EXAMINATION

Experienced medical personnel also have a hard time telling one type of upper respiratory illness from another. Pneumonia (infection of the lungs which *must* be treated and can be very serious), for example, often cannot be discovered without a chest x-ray. A minimum examination should include a good look at the ears, throat, eyes, and nose; listening closely to the chest — back and front; checking temperature, pulse and blood pressure; throat cultures for sore throats; x-rays for chest pains or deep congestion; getting information on your past illnesses and this one in particular; finding out what medicines you take and what you are allergic to; checking on the condition of other members of the family; and a full explanation of your condition and all medicines prescribed (what they are and how to use them). □

**Quality Health
Care is a Human
Right**

PRICE WATCH

Milk Up 8 Cents A Gallon, Going Up Again

The price of milk in Chicago went up an average of 8 cents a gallon last month. The U.S. Department of Agriculture says that December or January will bring another increase of about 3 cents per gallon. So now we are paying an average of \$1.56 (\$1.64 with tax) for milk in gallon sizes. And the limit is nowhere in sight.

We don't really need the Agriculture Department to tell us that food prices overall went up nearly 10% this year. That is, what we could buy for \$1.00 last year likely costs almost \$1.10 this year. We knew last year it was too high, and surely we know every time we go into the market which way most prices are going...UP!

A quick look at a few basic facts about the U.S. food industry tells us who is making the money on basic necessities of life -- milk, food -- which we cannot afford to provide for our families.

Who are the Producers? Those who grow the food, the producers, are shrinking in number, and more often they are large companies. In the last 10 years 7,000 corporations entered the business of producing agriculture. During the same 10 years 2,000 smaller family farms were eliminated every single week. Yet we always are told that there is not enough of one food or another and that is what sends prices up. Producing food is big business for big companies. The major dairy producers, who control milk prices, are one of the most powerful interest groups in the country.

Who are the "Middlemen"? Sixty cents of every dollar we spend at the store on food goes to "middlemen," not to smaller farmers. Sometimes these "middlemen," who make the food into different products, put fancy packaging on it, and spend millions on advertising, are part of the same large corporations that grow the food in the first place. There is a steadily smaller number of these companies, and they are large and wealthy.

Prices Up/Profits Up. Food prices have gone



The cost of food has almost doubled.

up much more sharply than other prices taken as a whole. The cost of food has almost doubled between 1965 and 1975 alone!

There are half as many food manufacturers today as in 1965. The 100 largest companies control over two thirds of the wealth of the food manufacturing industry. Profits for makers and packagers of food have gone up about 33% between 1965 and 1975. Those companies which control the biggest share of our dollars make even more money.

The largest supermarkets take a good-sized chunk out of every rise in prices. For instance, when milk went up 8 cents last month, the larger stores got 2.4 cents for each gallon.

Profits Buy Political Favors. And do you remember the hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars in the secret political funds uncovered during "Watergate?" Guess who gave the largest amounts of secret funds for politicians to use in any kind of political warfare they wanted? Yes -- these very same milk producers.

Did their companies pay us back even a tiny portion of what they stole and used to get political favors? Are they in jail?

The answer is no. The answer is at the check out stand at the grocery store, and the answer is in the eyes of hungry babies who need their milk. □

You Have A Right To Heat

The problem with heat in our communities is just like anything else — there isn't enough of it. When it comes to heat the landlords' and the tenants' interests are directly opposed. The landlord is trying to get through the winter as cheaply as possible, and the tenant as warmly as possible. Gas, coal, and oil are all very expensive. Most of the buildings in the community are old and badly in need of weatherproofing. Window frames sit loosely in the walls, the hallways are drafty and quickly suck up most of the available heat. No storm windows, cracked glass and old pipes all combine to make heating a building harder and more expensive than it need be.

The tenants' concern is to keep the house warm in the winter, and their only legal responsibility is to pay the rent and take care of their apartment. The landlord is required by law to provide heat at the temperature of 68° from 8:30 am to 10:30 pm and 55° from 10:30 pm to 6:30 am from September 18th to June 1st.

For most buildings the heat goes off and on according to a clock that is hooked up to the furnace. The landlord can set it for any time he



The landlord is required to provide heat at 68°.

wants and make it run as long as he wants. Most of the time the heat problem can be solved in the basement.

In some cases, however, absentee landlords owe so much money to the fuel companies that the heat gets turned off for the building even though people may be living there. The 46th Ward Community Service Center located at 4048 N. Sheridan has implemented a "utility pool" program with oil, gas and electric companies to help keep the heat turned on. For further housing information call the Service Center at 472-1031. □

LEGAL RIGHTS

"Get Me An Arrest Or Go To Jail"

It is a common practice for police to establish networks of informers in the course of their work. Without this informer network operating in the community, they say their effectiveness is greatly reduced. But, how do they establish this network and what do they really use it for?

Recently, a man threatened with prosecution for the alleged violation of a Chicago city ordinance was given 7 days to give the Chicago Police Department information leading to any felony arrest or be arrested himself. In fact, he was told "Set up a bust of some niggers and spics on a gun or dope charge." Another man on his way home from work one night was picked up in his own neighborhood by the police and told that there had been a burglary in the area, and he fit the description well enough to be the offender. He was told that if he could supply them with information leading to a sure arrest, they would forget they saw him at all.

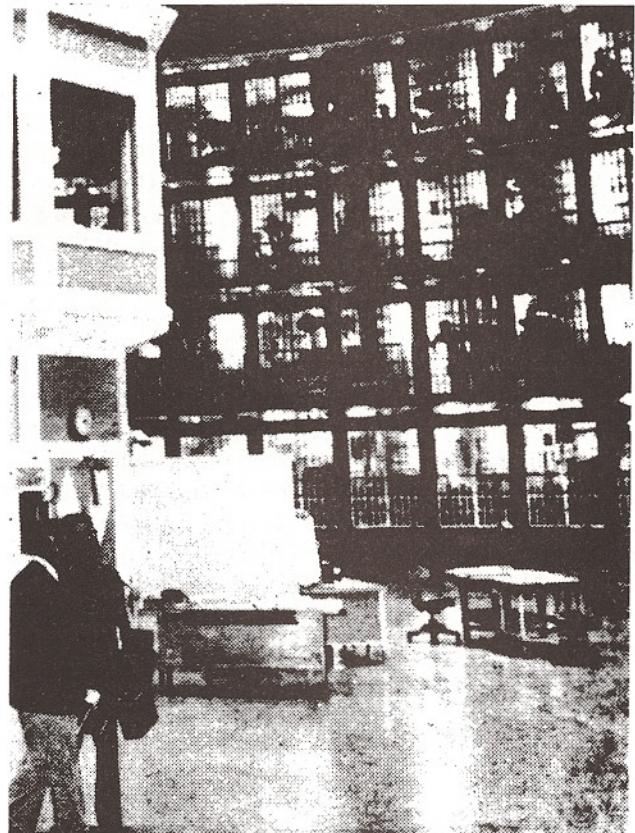
The U.S. Codes (law) Section 1983 of the civil rights act states that it is unlawful to act under the cover of state law to violate any of a person's constitutional rights — right to privacy, pursuit of happiness, right to be free from *intimidation* or *coercion*. The question has been righteously raised — how can information obtained through use of coercion and intimidation be reliable, and

why is it necessary to use these methods. It has been suggested that while the answer may be complex, it is very clear that it has little to do with justly serving and protecting the people.

What legal rights does a person have who is being pressured into becoming an informer? Not many. Everyone has the right to remain silent, and in the long run this is the best course of action. Occasionally an officer will approach someone who is being processed on a charge and offer help if he/she reciprocates with some names. There is absolutely nothing a policeman can do short of disappearing once a complaint or charges have been filed.

Everyone also has the right to counsel of their choice when dealing with the law. A trusted attorney or legal worker can help to take the pressure off and provide legal defense.

There are two principles to remember: 1) you do not have to volunteer information to the police without an attorney present, and 2) it is important to obtain the names of the police officers, their badge numbers or even license numbers. This will help you identify them later on. □



The Citizens Visiting Committee feels an immediate investigation in B-House is warranted.

was at the movie. The movie being shown by the administration was "Batman." Many of the prisoners who were present objected to viewing such trash, and they attempted a spontaneous walk-out to show their contempt and anger.

"The administration over-reacted to the incident and ordered the guards into full riot-gear -- bright orange jump suits, riot clubs, tear gas guns, gas masks. The prisoners, however, refused to be provoked into an unequal pre-planned slaughter so the administration decided to walk everyone who was at the movie to B-House regardless of whether or not they had attempted to walk out.

"Once inside B-House they were crowded 5 and 6 men into filthy cells. They were not given materials to clean the cells, no toilet paper, toothbrushes, washcloths, blankets, sheets or mattresses. The majority were forced to sleep on the floor. Many of the cells were without lights, and hardly any of the toilets or face bowls were in working order. They were kept in B-House until Friday morning when the administration, fearing public exposure of their latest brutal and inhumane action by the Citizens Visiting Committee who were scheduled to visit B-House, ordered their release." □

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Stateville

A letter received from an inmate at Stateville describes the brutal repression that this prison institution is capable of handling out at the slightest protest for human dignity, as well as the lengths to which it will go to cover up its actions. The Citizens Visiting Committee referred to is sponsored by the Illinois Prisons and Jails Project which has negotiated to visit the prison, observe and speak with residents with the intent of making recommendations to the administration. The visit referred to in the letter took place on November 7, 1975. In their report on this visit to the B-House (segregation) they commented: "The Citizens Visiting Committee is deeply disturbed about the situation in B-House and feels an immediate investigation is warranted." Excerpts of the letter from Stateville follows.

"On Wednesday, November 5, 1975, E-House

Illegal Search Warrants Common Place In Chicago

A massive legal attack on questionable practices of police and other local investigative agencies was announced here recently. Under attack is the use of carbon copied and perjured search warrants; illegal eavesdropping by city, county, state and federal investigators; and illegal "fishing expeditions" against private citizens including the practice of checking with banks and other sources to determine an individual's net worth and spending habits.

According to a *Chicago Sun-Times* report, a team of defense lawyers has uncovered large discrepancies in the issuance of more than 5,000 search warrants exercised by the Chicago police. Approximately 98% of the warrants checked were found to be carbon copies that had blank spaces filled in with varying names and addresses. There is evidence that many of the police officers committed perjury in swearing there was "probable cause" for making such searches. It was also disclosed that a common police tactic has been to detain a known narcotics offender until he gives names of other suspects, whose homes are then searched. Sam Adam and Edward Genson, two of the lawyers involved, have charged that "Many of these warrants are simply extra-legal excuses for breaking into homes." □

FIGHTING CITY HALL

New City Budget Slights Poor Communities

Last month Mayor Richard J. Daley presented his budget proposal for rubber stamping in the city council. It was called a "hold the line" budget which gives city workers increases in wages and benefits while keeping the property taxes at the

same rate as they were last year. But behind the Mayor's budget are some important shifts in city policy that will harshly affect the survival of the poor and oppressed community.

*The money for youth guidance and counseling, youth resource development and coordination, youth leisure activities, employment placement and career development has been cut. In some cases, it has been cut in half. But the money for gang crimes investigation has been increased substantially.

*While the overall police budget was increased by 41.9 million dollars, money to fight organized crime was decreased seriously in the Mayor's budget.

*While property taxes are not being raised, utility taxes are being raised so that those who rent, not those who own, will pay for the increase in the payrolls of Daley's city workers, who are also his precinct captains in many cases.

*The emergency family food program has been cut by 30%.

*The budget "to provide for the restoration of heat to dwelling units through emergency service calls and repair of heating units . . ." has been cut by nearly 25%.

*There have been substantial reductions in the budget for child care services. Even with these cuts, administrative costs have increased by 1/3 while development of child care facilities will be reduced by 1/2.

*Crisis intervention (emergency food and housing) has been cut by 60%.

What does it all add up to? The Mayor has pleased the property owners and given small satisfaction to his city workers, while cutting basic services to the community beyond their already seriously minimal level. These cuts are coming at a time when unemployment in Chicago is running higher than ever. Also the Mayor, in his wisdom, has given the police more money to buy military technology and to wage the "war on youth" while cutting programs that provide recreation, job training and jobs for youth. The Mayor thinks we should spend more money arresting addicts than fighting the organized crime that brings drugs into the community.

Not included in the Mayor's budget are the projected use of federal Community Development funds which are slated to continue the

destruction of low-income housing and the construction of an inner city for middle and upper income citizens.

Undoubtedly, the objections of Alderman Cousins, Alderman Simpson and the other minority aldermen will be pushed aside by the machine dominated city council. Unlike New York, Chicago will not go broke. Instead, it plans to break the poor and oppressed people who live here. □

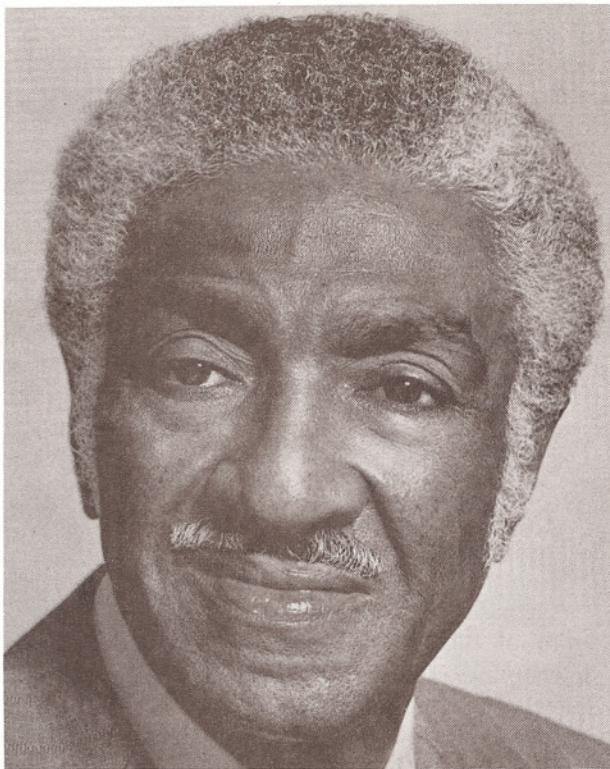
Metcalfe: A Challenge To The Daley Machine

The Hon. Ralph H. Metcalfe announced last month that he will run for reelection to Congress from the south side 1st District that he now represents in Washington. The Congressman is determined to run again despite fierce opposition from the Daley machine.

Metcalfe's active life in Cook County democratic party politics took a sharp turn in 1972 that has led to constantly increasing tension with the regular organization. In '72, Metcalfe, prominent in the Black community for many years, as he responded to mounting community concern, helped initiate and was chairman of a special blue ribbon panel on police affairs in Chicago. The panel held hearings throughout the city and issued a very detailed study, "The Misuse of Police Authority in Chicago." Excerpts from Congressman Metcalfe's introduction to the report explain the 94 page document which includes many specific recommendations for change.

"While abusive police treatment of citizens has been a major issue for years, the community outcry against abuse of police authority by Chicago policemen increased sharply in 1972...Further, there was a growing concern about the high crime rate in inner city communities...This report addresses itself to a crisis in police-community relations in Chicago; the misuse of police authority, at all levels of the Police Department and related agencies...The time for action, for police reform, has come."

During the city wide community outcry of 1972



Ralph Metcalfe

that Metcalfe referred to, Mayor Daley and the Chicago Police Department at his direction, refused to even acknowledge the problems let alone accept solutions. In a July, '72 press conference, Metcalfe said, "It is our belief that there will be no reform unless the grass roots citizenry is involved in forcing the organized power structure to change the abusive policies of the police department."

Shortly after, a pattern of harassment began against Metcalfe by the regular organization in retaliation for his break with Mayor Daley. In the fall of '72, Metcalfe cited harassment by building inspectors at his ward headquarters. A police unit assigned to guard him for three years was suddenly withdrawn without explanation. City and park district patronage jobs normally available to him as 3rd Ward Democratic Committeeman were removed. Three staff members for his year round ward athletic program were reassigned.

By the 1975 mayoral election, Metcalfe had decided *not* to endorse Daley for reelection. Members of Metcalfe's 3rd Ward Democratic Organization were intimidated by city and sheriff's officials to gather nominating petitions for Daley. Metcalfe and his troops went to court to stop the threats of job loss, and they won. The city itself was found guilty and fined for penalties.

Metcalfe's current battle for reelection will be on two fronts. As 3rd Ward Democratic Committeeman, Metcalfe sits on the powerful Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Cook County. He casts votes there and is entitled, according to the way the machine works, to a certain share of city and county jobs. Daley has already moved his own man, 3rd Ward Alderman Tyrone Kenner, into handling the machine patronage and business there. He is expected to run Kenner against Metcalfe for the very powerful, significant post of Democratic Committeeman from the 3rd Ward.

Mayor Daley is backing Erwin France, Chicago's Model Cities director, against Metcalfe for the 1st Congressional District seat. Many Black community leaders are asking, "if France or others are going to run, run in nearby districts and thereby increase the Black community's total representation in Congress?" □

EDUCATION

Parents Union?

A *KEEP STRONG* survey of community groups throughout the city has turned up a surprising similarity of complaints about schools in many different neighborhoods. Number 1 on the list is the low reading scores and reading ability of Chicago public school students. Chicago ranks less than the national norms in reading scores.

Second on almost everyone's list was the use of "psychological testing" as a means to "thin out" overcrowded classrooms. Parents maintain that teachers who cannot communicate with students because of language, cultural, racial or economic class differences often classify these children as psychologically unfit. Parents, city wide, are objecting to the practice of threatening children with suspension or a failing grade if they do not give permission to submit their children to psychological testing.

KEEP STRONG also found many complaints of overcrowding in the classroom and a lack of books and educational materials. Already over-worked teachers are forced to write up and reproduce each day's study materials the night before each school day in many places. The high



There was a surprising similarity of complaints in different neighborhoods.

number of suspensions — higher than any other school system in the nation — was also frequently mentioned.

In response to these problems, several groups have proposed a parents union. They say that the teachers and the administrators are both represented at the bargaining table, but not the parents or the students. Parents feel that a city wide union could demand accountability from the schools.

They also stress that the union would help get more parent participation. One demand, for instance, would be to use the large Board of Education budget for security to hire unemployed fathers of students in the schools as security and get armed police out of the schools. Another would be to require parents to visit the school or attend review meetings once each marking period.

With the failure of the state legislature to override Walker's veto, new cuts in the school budget can be expected and already intolerable conditions will get worse. The "parents union" idea may grow quickly in popularity. □

SUNNYSIDE MALL: Community Demands Action

Community residents packed into the ISC Community Forum on Saturday, November 22, to discuss problems on the Sunnyside mall. The mall, which extends from Magnolia Street to Beacon Street, has become a battleground between the police and the community, and between rival youth groups. Gunshots can be heard nearly every night, and people are afraid to go out in the evenings.

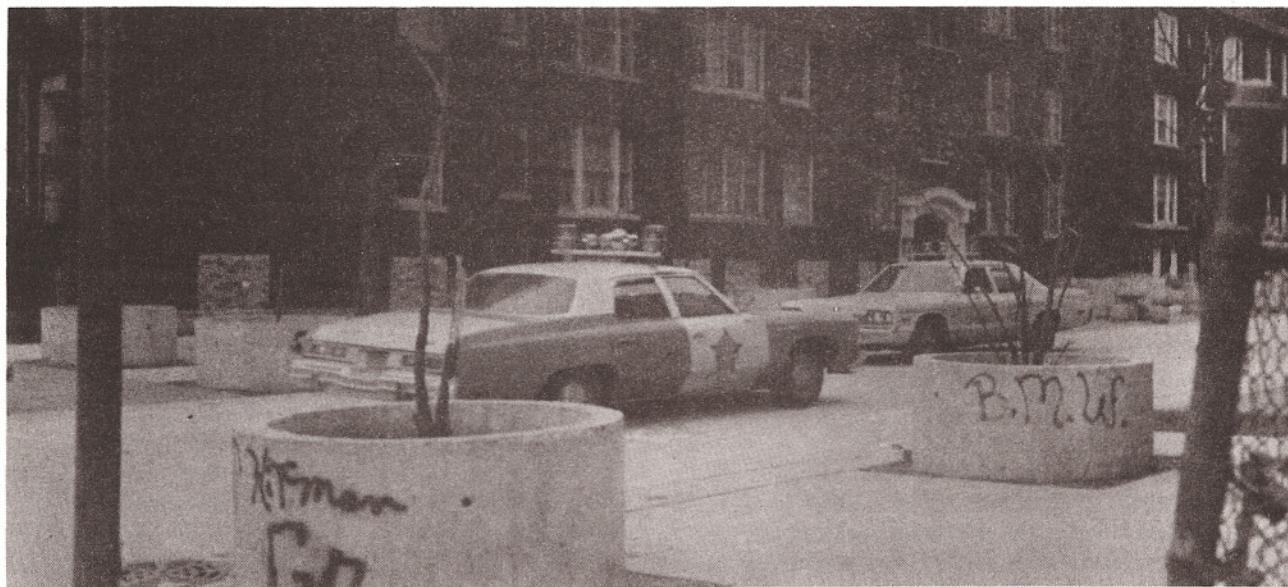
Before the meeting began, *KEEP STRONG* discussed the situation with community residents and community organizers. "Those students and social workers who study us in Uptown," said one, "say that Uptown is a test for America because we have so many different kinds and colors of poor people struggling side by side for survival. If Uptown is a test for America, then the Sunnyside mall is a test for Uptown." The meeting emphasized the truth of these words.

According to residents, the problems on the mall were brought on by city policies. Originally the community itself fought to have the mall built

because there was no safe place for children to play. Much planning went on with full community participation. An architect, Sidney Wright, volunteered to draw up the plans in proposal form.

The community wanted to create a "village" in the middle of the city where neighbors could work and live closely together. Day care centers and recreation programs were projected. Jobs for community residents in supervising activities and cleaning the mall were also part of the plan. Residents on each block were to be given the say-so on the operation of their part of the mall.

After several years of fighting for the plan with Model Cities and the city government, the community became frustrated. The plan was turned down. Then came the new college, destroying 1200 units of low-income family housing. The Mayor suddenly announced "his plan" to build "a Sunnyside mall" to complement the new college. But there was only enough money, he said, to pay for the concrete. No



Describing the people there as "trash and scum," Commander Kernan said, "The CPD (Chicago Police Department) is going to run it."

money was provided for recreation programs and facilities, maintenance or jobs for residents. And there was to be no community control.

At the same time the mall was being constructed, many Black and Latino families were being moved out of areas further south by urban renewal and big private developers like Thompson and Rubloff. They sought homes in the already overcrowded area. Conflicts between whites, Blacks and Latinos resulted, especially among the young brothers and sisters. Street gangs developed as some felt their neighborhood was being "taken over," and others defended their right to live there. High unemployment, welfare cuts and poorly managed buildings added fuel to the fire.

20th district police Commander Kernan then took "the hard line." None of these groups, he told community representatives, are going to run the mall. Describing the people there as "trash and scum," he said, "The CPD (Chicago Police Department) is going to run it."

An intense police attack on the community has taken place as cars are stopped and searched, apartments are raided and the loose use of guns by police is on the increase. Because of the fighting, many people call the police. Then they complain that the police do not come or, when

they come, they make quick arrests without investigating the situation, often acting in a brutal and illegal manner.

Several formal complaints of police abuse have been filed. Police have responded by visiting potential witnesses and "encouraging" them not to testify. Threats against community leaders who criticize the police have been made. In one complaint, a man told how he witnessed a police officer inciting a young brother to jump on a brother in a rival group. It seems the police are trying to aggravate the situation by causing fights that allow them to make quick arrests. Residents are particularly indignant about police gunfire in the crowded area where many children live.

A serious commitment by all present at the November 22 meeting, including the youth, was made to "stop the fighting." Recognizing that people are being pitted against one another by city policies and police, the community was urged to unite and work out differences "behind closed doors." A task force was established to meet with the new police commander who is to be appointed for the area on December 1st. A second goal of the new task force is to negotiate with the new city college for recreation and job programs, controlled by the community, on the Sunnyside mall. □



Community residents packed into the forum to discuss problems on Sunnyside mall.

NEW HOUSING CUTS THREATENED IN CHICAGO

According to information related at a November 13th meeting at the Tranquility Community Center, 1529 N. Larabee, the housing picture for poor people in Chicago looks more and more desperate. Marion Stamps, Regional Chairperson of the National Tenants' Organization, confirmed the fact that the Brooke Amendment goes out of effect as of January 1st. The Brooke Amendment permitted tenants on public aid to pay no more than 25% of their income for rent in public housing. Sister Marion explained that HUD guidelines provide that rents in the projects can now be brought up to "market prices," as high as \$205 a month for a 1 bedroom apartment. Public aid has no plans to compensate recipients for a rent increase. "The only way the rents won't be raised is for the tenants to organize, starting right now," she said.

It was also revealed that as bonds are paid up by the city, public housing complexes such as Cabrini Green are passing out of the control of the federal government into the city's control. The city, in turn, is selling the buildings to private corporations, such as Montgomery Ward, which plan to renovate the buildings and turn them into middle and upper-income complexes. "It is all connected to the Chicago 21 plan," said Stamps, referring to the infamous city of Chicago development plan to "whiten and upgrade" the inner city.

Other speakers explained that the new section 8 housing program is inadequately funded to provide assistance to Chicago tenants. The section 8 plan of the new Housing and Community Development Act is intended to



Marion Stamps (center), regional chairman of the NTO, addresses Chicago meeting of tenants' organizations as NTO state chairman and ISC coordinator Slim Coleman looks on.



Destruction of low-income housing by urban renewal and the "phase-out" in public housing will leave hundreds of thousands homeless.

provide rent subsidies to low-income tenants in both private and public housing. However, according to Slim Coleman, NTO State Chairman and coordinator of the Intercommunal Survival Committee, of the 901,405 persons eligible for the leasing program in Chicago, only 571 will be able to participate in the program with the existing funds.

Community representatives from many tenant organizations at the well-attended meeting commented that with the destruction of low-income housing accomplished by the urban renewal program, the virtual "phase out" and "price out" of public housing in Chicago will leave hundreds of thousands homeless in the city over the next few years. It will also create the conditions for race war as Black people, Latinos and poor whites are forced to compete for existing housing and move to new neighborhoods.

Special attention was given to the "new lease"



the Chicago Housing Authority has sent out to tenants for approval, which raises costs to tenants and takes away basic rights. Tenants pointed out that many had been intimidated into signing the lease already, although legally they are only being asked for their comments. Stamps stated that the Chicago Housing Tenants' Organization had submitted the lease to counsel for study and, on legal advice, is considering a lawsuit challenging its many patently illegal aspects. The popular and dynamic community leader urged tenants to send in their objections to the lease "by the thousands" to the Chicago Housing Authority.

Working committees were established at the meeting to focus on the new lease, the relationship between public housing and public aid, the section 8 leasing program and other points of concern expressed at the meeting. A citywide conference has been set for January 9th and 10th. For more information call 337-0218 or 275-4778. □

Police In The Community: 4 Case Histories

Last month KEEP STRONG conducted an independent in-depth investigation into police activity in the 19th and 20th districts. The focus of the investigation was police-community relations. We present below four cases where police were called to the scene during family or neighborhood arguments. In each case where mediation was in order and desired by the callers, extreme violence was instead used by the police.

It has been suggested that the police forget that their department's slogan is "We Serve and Protect." Rather than having an attitude of service to the community, they look at the oppressed community as a battleground where they are about to meet the enemy. It would seem that this observation is substantiated by the way "beats" are patrolled by the police.

Each district is broken down into smaller units which the police call "beats." They range in size anywhere from 4 blocks (usually in the so-called high crime areas) to 10 to 20 square blocks (in "easier" neighborhoods). On each shift, two officers are assigned to patrol (in their car) a particular beat.

For the most part it is not common practice for officers to patrol the same beat each day. Therefore, when officers are assigned to those beats that are most concentrated, where they don't know the community, and the community doesn't know them, they are likely to act defensively and arbitrarily, showing the ignorance, disrespect and fear that comes from a shallow understanding and arrogance towards the community. This could explain the high incidence of reported violence, as well as the common practice observed among police of hitting the community hard and fast, making an arrest and splitting back to the district office to do paper work or whatever. It can take a good hour at the station. If the same thing is repeated three or four times in a night a police officer ends up spending very little time in "hostile" territory.

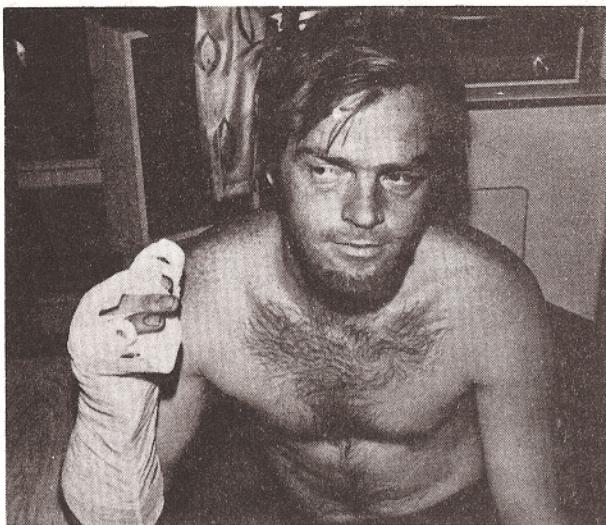
On the evening of July 1, 1975, John Hollifield, 41, was shot twice in the chest and killed by 19th district police in his home at 941 W. Gordon Terrace. Police had been called following a family quarrel between Hollifield and his wife Barbara.



John and Barbara Hollifield

When a squad arrived they talked with Barbara Hollifield who was extremely upset from the quarrel. Reliable witnesses interviewed by KEEP STRONG maintain that one officer went in to talk to Hollifield and then returned to get his partner. The two patrolmen then entered the hallway of the Sterling Apartments and shouted something to Hollifield who was in his basement apartment. Then they fired two shots from the entrance to the hallway of the building where they were standing, fatally wounding Hollifield as he stood inside his doorway. Police recovered an ordinary kitchen knife and a hammer from the apartment which they claimed Hollifield had threatened them with. Hollifield is survived by his wife and several children.

On September 29, 1975, at 3 p.m. Charles Marschke had just returned to his home at 2057 W. Roscoe after an argument with a friend over a car battery. As he stood on his front porch he observed his friend approaching in the company of two policemen from the 19th district. Marschke's friend stated that he was coming onto the porch. Marschke told the officers not to let him. He came up, they did not stop him and a scuffle ensued. Within seconds the police were also on the porch. They grabbed Charles, dragged him onto the street in front of his house. While he lay on the ground in the middle of the street, one grabbed the bandage which he had on his hand as a result of a dog bite two days earlier



Charles Marschke

(making the wound worse), while the other beat him in the head and face with a walkie-talkie until it was in pieces and Marschke's face was cut up and bleeding. He was arrested and charged with damage to state property. At Illinois Masonic Hospital he received 40 stitches on his head and face.

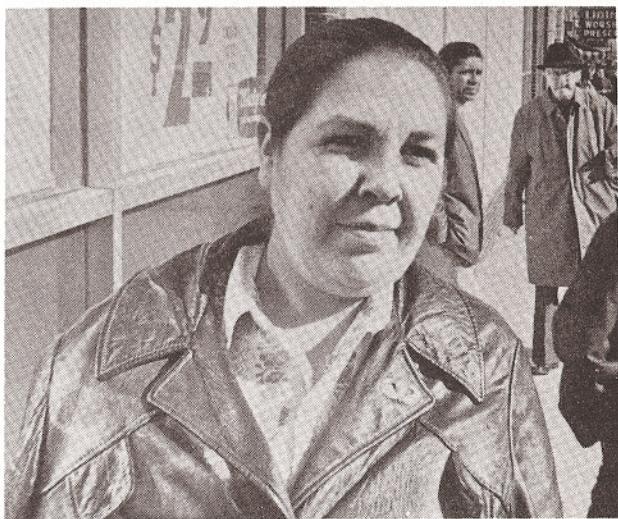
On September 29, 1975, 14-year old Alicia Sanchez was involved in a dispute with other neighborhood children near the corner of Malden and Leland. A neighbor called the police, officers Cummings and Garone came, grabbed Alicia by her hair, threw her in the squad car and charged her with 1 count of theft and 2 counts of battery. Alicia's brother, who had been watching the arrest from more than 20 feet away, protested and was himself arrested and charged with disorderly conduct. Later his charge was changed to aggravated assault and his bond set at \$300. Both youths were taken to the 20th district.



The Sanchez family

Alicia, still handcuffed, was interrogated by four policemen for over an hour and a half. She was insulted and made to sit while witnesses paraded in front of her for purposes of identification. There was no one present to advise her of her rights. Mrs. Sanchez arrived and demanded to see her children. After more than an hour and three calls from attorneys she was taken back to see her daughter. She was told to sit down and detained for no apparent reason. A woman was brought in and out very quickly. Then Mrs. Sanchez was charged with battery allegedly resulting from a fight that had occurred more than a month before. It cost over \$300 to get the Sanchez family out of jail that night. None of the five charges were sustained in court.

On October 20, 1975, Eleanor Johns and her sister, Mrs. Radhakrishnan, were walking south in the alley of the 4600 block of Magnolia. A police car approached. The officers accused Mrs. Radhakrishnan of stealing some money. She said she had not taken any money and offered to let them search her to prove it. They started to get rough and Mrs. Johns objected. She was arrested and handcuffed with her hands behind her back.



Eleanor Johns

When she protested this treatment one of the officers knocked her to the ground with his billy club, breaking her arm. Her niece (who had joined them after the police arrived) tried to help her up. She was shoved aside by the officer who then roughly pulled Mrs. Johns from the ground and into a squad car. Taken to Ravenswood Hospital, Mrs. Johns complained that her children were unattended. She was released without treatment. The next day her own doctor put her in the hospital with a broken arm where she remained for eight days.

The police officers failed to show up in court, and the disorderly conduct charge was dropped.

Chicago Police Spying: Grand Jury Report Exposes But Doesn't Indict

Reprinted from *The Black Panther*

A Cook County grand jury has charged the Chicago Police Department's six-year-long illegal surveillance of predominantly Black community groups and political activists here are having "all the earmarks of a police state."

The grand jury's harsh criticism of the Chicago Police Department came after a nearly eight-month investigation of what Cook County State's Attorney Bernard Carey has called "flagrant violations of police responsibility." However, the grand jury returned no indictments in the case, thereby perpetuating the police cover-up of crimes which the grand jury declared were politically motivated.

Among the major findings of the grand jury were:

"In 1969, the security section of Chicago Police Department launched a massive intelligence campaign against various community groups (including the Black Panther Party). None of the many community groups brought to our attention advocated violence, nor had they exhibited any history of violence. *Under no circumstances could these community groups be considered a proper target of intelligence gathering activities....*

"The first explanation (for police spying on community groups) offered to this grand jury by the leadership of the Chicago Police Department was that the 'violent nature' of these groups required monitoring. This reason, however, was totally rebutted by the testimony of both undercover officers and members of the community groups....

"The final argument given by public officials for this intelligence activity has all the earmarks of a police state. They argued that unless community groups are infiltrated by undercover agents or informants, the police will not be able

to determine whether the community group is peaceful or violent.

"In other words, these police officials presumed that persons who exercise their Constitutional rights pose a threat to the community until they proved otherwise to the satisfaction of the police officials.

'The overwhelming weight of the evidence presented to this grand jury clearly established that the true motivation for spying on community groups was political.'

"All the targeted community groups...at one time or another were critical of the policies of the mayor (Richard Daley)..."

Seeking to justify its failure to hand down indictments, the grand jury cited the lack of cooperation from the Chicago Police Department and claimed that "The return of indictments could and probably would be used by city officials to shift the public's attention away from the grave threat to individual rights and freedoms posed by abusive police intelligence activity."

Citizens Alert, a branch of the Alliance to End Repression, one of the community groups spied upon by the Chicago Police Department, has called upon the Chicago Police Board and Chicago Police Superintendent James Rochford to draft new police intelligence division guidelines and to discipline police personnel guilty of improper intelligence activities.

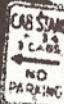
"The current lawsuit (filed by the community groups against the Chicago Police Department) will remain before the courts for at least three years and possibly longer. But a remedy for the scandalous conditions documented by the grand jury report cannot wait. Law enforcement affecting the lives of Chicago citizens will otherwise be placed in jeopardy," Citizens Alert declared. □

N D B U

It's time to cry halt to the police state in Chicago

"County grand jury complains that earmarks of a police state" exist in Cook County, and yet holds no one legally responsible.

Every thinking person in the city deserves the most careful consideration of every thinking person in the city, unless the implications sink in.



CHICAGO
Sun-Times

Wednesday, Nov. 12, 1975

Editorials

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determination that police-state activities existed here recalls the Walker Report's findings that the police rioted against demonstrators in Chicago in 1968. These activities were of a piece.

Incredibly, the grand jury, the bearer of the bad tidings, is under fire. Criminal Court Judge Richard J. Fitzgerald said the

piece.

DECEMBER, 1975/KEEP STRONG 23

6 Years After The Murder Of Fred Hampton

DECEMBER 4, 1975. It is six years since Illinois Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton and Panther Party member Mark Clark were murdered in a massive volley of gunfire by a special Police Department unit assigned to the office of State's Attorney Edward G. Hanrahan.

JANUARY 5, 1975. On the 25th floor of Chicago's sleek federal building, in Judge Samuel Perry's courtroom, it is the opening day of a federal court case brought by the mothers of the slain men and the survivors of the pre-dawn raid.

Their civil suit for \$47 million damages charges public officials and police of the city, county and federal government who were responsible for the attack with conspiracy to deprive Fred Hampton and Mark Clark of their civil rights--that is, conspiracy to deprive them of life. Mrs. Iberia Hampton, Mrs. Fannie Mae Clark, and the survivors (two of whom were wounded in the attack) contend that the killings were political assassination and that the highest level governmental conspiracy to cover up the planning and execution of the raid continues to this very day.

ONLY 21 YEARS OLD

Fred Hampton was only 21 years old when he was shot in the head lying in his bed, helplessly drugged according to a special autopsy report. He began to turn his powerful mind and seemingly boundless energy to solving problems in the Black community as a teen-age activist in the Maywood NAACP youth organization. By the time he founded the Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party in 1968, he had practical experience and a disciplined hunger for knowledge well beyond his years. He knew a lot about the city of Chicago and was known as a hard working emerging young leader with unusual integrity.

As Deputy Chairman of the Illinois chapter,

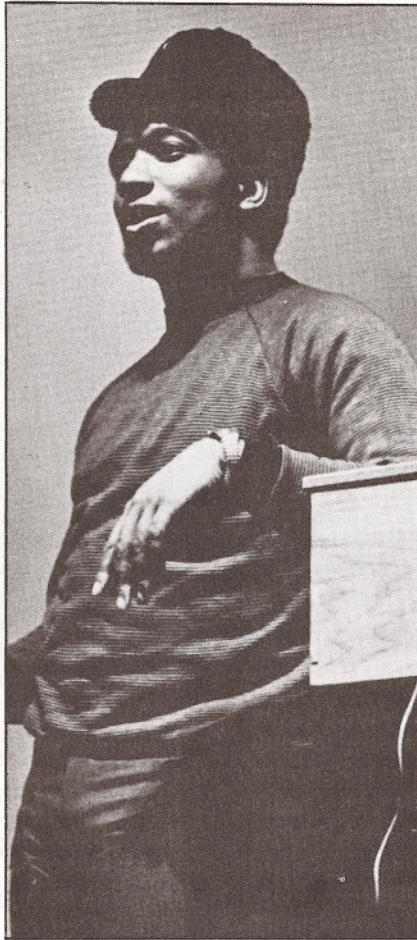
both Hampton's political analysis and his deepest instincts led him to establish the organization's base in the heart of Chicago's poorest Black community on the west side. That this was also the heart of the Daley machine's power, the area that allowed the mayor an almost certain margin of victory in local elections and in carrying the entire state in presidential elections, was perfectly well known to Hampton. "Black people can and must organize for liberation" amidst these brutal conditions, he explained again and again.

COMMUNITY SURVIVAL

Under Hampton's guidance, the Illinois Black Panther Party initiated many "community survival programs." Five free breakfast for school children centers served hundreds of nourishing, hot meals every morning. A year long struggle was begun to establish a free medical center in Lawndale, a west side area which had the least medical resources in the city and an infant death rate more than twice that of white Chicago's.

They began with a door-to-door community survey to find out what health services people needed most and to recruit community volunteers. The medical center survived an armed invasion of the office when police destroyed all of the thousands of dollars of medical equipment and funds that had been gathered in months of work. The free health clinic was opened in a completely remodeled shiny clean center shortly after Fred's death.

The medical center was a model of quality health service. In addition to providing free care at the center, its program included door-to-door health screening and follow-up by teams of trained community workers and medical personnel. A sickle cell anemia screening and follow-up program was developed that organized parents throughout the city to bring the screening teams into their schools. Over 20,000 people were



tested and counseled in this one program alone. The medical center helped organize community blood drives to aid Cook County Hospital, which a large part of Chicago's Black community depends on for medical care. Community health workers — patient advocates, laboratory technicians, etc. — were trained.

Other grass roots programs begun under Fred's direction included community political education classes and a tutorial program for youth at the office. In the winter time, an emergency heat program had teams who responded to a flood of calls from families without heat. They saw that landlords obeyed the law and turned the heat on; they repaired furnaces and provided electric heaters and blankets.

The survival programs were growing, drawing large numbers of community volunteers, serving basic human needs, and providing an example of unity, self-reliance, and the power of people organized to make change. "People learn through observation and participation," Hampton repeated almost daily.

The phones in the office were ringing off the hook, and a constant stream of people of all ages

were in and out, "I need to talk to Fred." And they usually did. Some people used to say he never slept. He did, but usually not until he fell out after days of concentrated work.

Speaking at campuses, in high schools, at community meetings and educational rallies of 300 to 500 people twice a month, talking intensely one to one, constantly teaching Party members — to read better, to speak, to run a program — Hampton was obsessed with education. He read and studied an enormous amount — history, philosophy, political science. Then he'd frown and focus on finding a way to explain to people world events, the history of struggles for freedom, the current national situation, or the situation on the corner. He was eloquent, and he held audiences literally for hours speaking, taking questions, leading discussions.

The organization he led was growing stronger — city wide and around the state. They were active in and often leading a host of community actions. Important coalitions were formed. And they were just beginning.

At the age of 21 everyone in Chicago and many around the country knew that Fred Hampton

was a powerful leader in the Black liberation movement, a man of unquestioned honesty with enormous potential.

UNCOVERING THE PIECES

From the hour that Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered, there has been strong and widespread grass roots belief that the official versions of the killings were not true. In addition to the thousands of pages of documents from the 3 year pre-trial proceedings of the case which is now beginning trial here in federal court, there are now tens of thousands of pages of documents from investigations into the murders by agencies and grand juries of the city of Chicago, the state of Illinois, the federal government, a distinguished Citizens Commission of Inquiry headed by Roy Wilkins and Ramsey Clark, and from journalists and researchers.

PHASE ONE: 1969-1971

Hampton and Clark were murdered just before dawn. The survivors were arrested, hospitalized under guard, and jailed. By the time the early editions of the morning paper hit the streets an hour later, State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan had announced the line that all major local officials presented to the public.

"The immediate, violent criminal reaction of the occupants in shooting at announced police officers emphasized the extreme viciousness of the Black Panther Party." The police acting under Hanrahan's authority "exercised good judgement, considerable restraint, and professional discipline" in presenting a search warrant at 4 a.m. with machine guns and tear gas at an apartment whose occupants they supposedly did not know.

Before 8 a.m., the Illinois Black Panther Party, in a political decision that has been key to uncovering the facts, allowed thousands of people who spontaneously assembled at the Panther apartment to tour it and observe for themselves which way the bullets had been fired, which doors had been broken down, and to see for themselves Fred Hampton's freshly bloodstained bed. In the following few days too many people saw with their own eyes, and the *first* official version crumbled.

The highlights go like this:

- December, 1969. Hanrahan's story of an attack on the police by the occupants of the apartment (including a special TV re-enactment by the police) folded. Hundreds of community leaders and national figures demanded special investigations of the police action.
- In the following two years, amidst complex struggles and against the unswerving opposition of Mayor Daley and his machine, a special state grand jury indicted Hanrahan and others involved in the raid.
- A federal grand jury issued a tough report condemning Hanrahan, other officials, and the police for their actions and for a conspiracy to cover up the facts. Ninety-nine to a hundred shots were fired into the apartment by invading police, possibly one was fired by an occupant, they concluded. However, they returned no federal indictments.
- At about the same time, all charges against the survivors were dropped by Hanrahan.
- The Special Commission of Inquiry concluded in a full-length book: "There can be no possible legal or factual justification for this police use of firearms."



Free Breakfast for Children Program



There was no 'shoot-out' . . . Systems of justice — federal, state, and local — failed to do their duty to protect the lives and rights of citizens."

PHASE TWO: WATERGATE AND THE FEDERAL CONNECTION

Still many throughout the country, including the families of the dead men, did not believe that the full story had come out, did not believe that this was a case of local officials and police gone mad alone. Meanwhile, "Watergate" disclosed a federal government policy and apparatus — FBI, CIA, White House, Military Intelligence, IRS, etc. — designed to destroy political opposition in the country, and most importantly Black resistance. Mrs. Hampton and Mrs. Clark believed that the COINTELPRO program and other plans to smash political dissent had a direct bearing on the Hampton case. They filed a major civil damage suit in federal court against all those directly responsible for the raid. As new evidence has emerged more and more federal officials all the way to Washington have been added as defendants in the action.

Although much of the evidence is hidden behind a court-ordered "secrecy" ruling, and much more has yet to be produced, there are a few key facts which have now become part of the written public record connecting the federal government directly with the Hampton case.

1. William O'Neal, Jr. joined the Illinois Black Panther Party as a paid FBI informer. There were

many others. He reported to a special unit of the FBI in Chicago, and may have been involved more or less directly in setting up the attack.

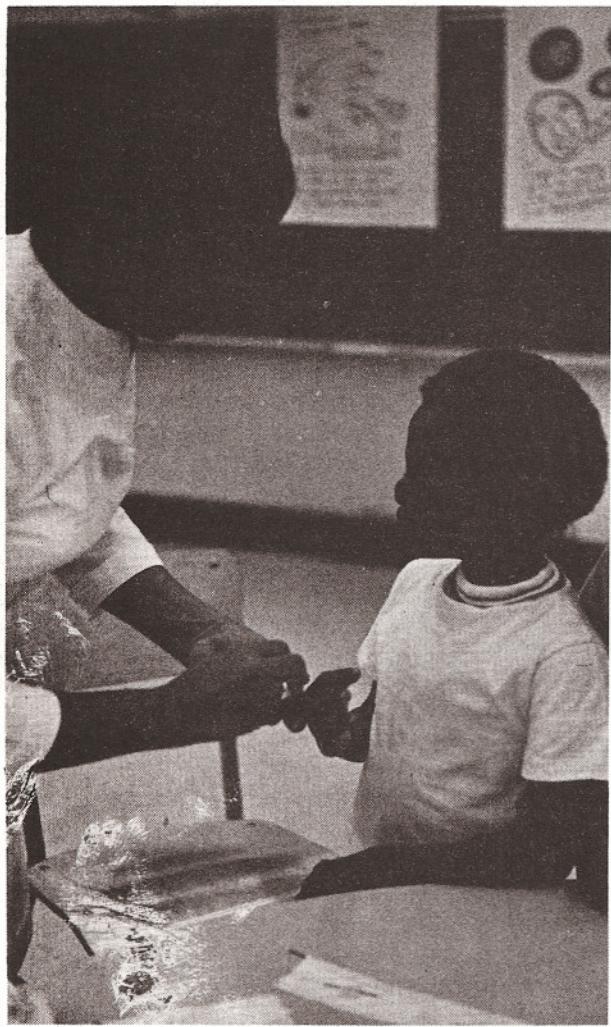
2. O'Neal was paid by and reported directly to Roy M. Mitchell, an FBI agent assigned to the special Racial Matters (RM) squad. Mitchell passed on detailed information to Hanrahan including a floor plan of the apartment and the position of Fred Hampton's bed two weeks before the attack.

3. Mitchell's superior was Robert T. Piper, head of the Racial Matters (RM) squad. Piper supervised the counterintelligence squad called the "Black Panther Task Force." They communicated directly with Washington and with local police. Presumably they followed national FBI policy to "disrupt" Black organizations by any means necessary.

4. Marlin Johnson was head of the FBI's Chicago office at the time. He played a key role in gathering evidence for the special federal grand jury on the Hampton case. He never testified nor disclosed any FBI connections with the case. (Johnson is now head of the Chicago Police Board.)

5. Federal documents show an agreement between the Justice Department and Hanrahan: If Hanrahan dropped the charges against the survivors of the raid so that the case would not come to trial, the federal government would not indict Hanrahan. That is what happened.

6. Jerris Leonard, former head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department under John Mitchell, was also head of the special Justice Department unit (the Civil Disturbance Group) that supervised federal policy and spying on the Black Panther Party and others. Documents from



Spurgeon "Jake" Winters Free Medical Center

the Chicago FBI office about the Illinois chapter and Fred Hampton were received by this unit in Washington before the attack.

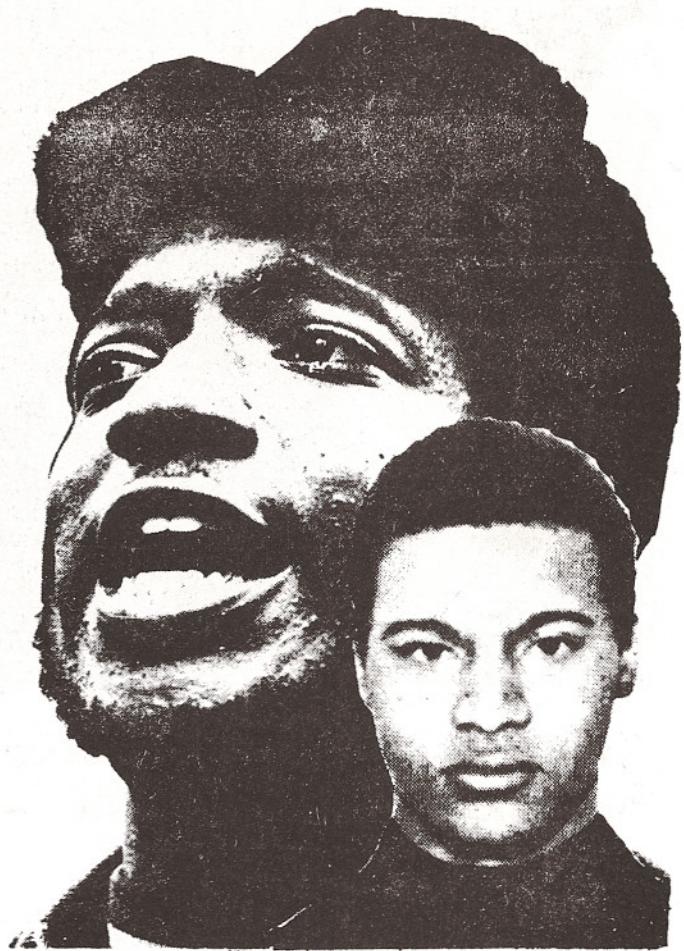
7. Other special federal connections have been made with officials in Washington, and the Justice Department has without exception fought the disclosure of any evidence and attempted to avoid producing witnesses.

8. Former Superintendent of Police, John Conlisk, met with Richard Helms, former head of the CIA, about "intelligence" matters in Chicago before the attack.

9. Cooperation and joint spying by Military Intelligence, local police and the FBI on the Panthers and their attorneys before the attack and since the suit was filed has come to light.

WILL THE TRUTH COME OUT?

Statements from these and other federal officials have been taken by Mrs. Hampton's attorneys. However, Judge Perry has ruled:



Fred Hampton and Mark Clark

1. The attorneys may not discuss **with their own clients** the contents of these statements or of the hundreds of government documents that have been turned over to them.
2. These statements may not be made part of the public court record (an extremely unusual ruling in a civil case).
3. The attorneys have been severely limited before questioning these witnesses about what they may ask them.
4. The Chicago Police Department does not have to turn over most of its intelligence files on the Illinois Black Panther Party and Fred Hampton.
5. The names of informers on whose statements the original warrants for the raid were obtained cannot be turned over to the plaintiffs.

This is a partial list of the restrictions on the plaintiffs who argue they desperately need to piece together the details of the massive conspiracy.



"We don't want you coming here clapping and leaving here not doing nothing — You've got to make a commitment!"

In the last pre-trial ruling Mrs. Hampton moved that Judge Perry be removed from the case because of bias toward Black people and especially those Black people with connections to the Black Panther Party. Federal Judge Lynch, formerly Mayor Daley's law partner, denied the motion.

The Hampton case is no Watergate, although many believe it reflects the true meaning of Watergate. It is not about a burglary; it is about murder and conspiracy. It is not about spying on nationally prominent respectable white political figures; it is about spying on outspoken bold Black leaders and organizations. This is not Judge Sirica's courtroom; it is Judge Perry's courtroom, a man with ties for many years to the Daley machine.

This case has its "local connections" too. Although too complex to detail here, the Hampton case is interwoven directly with the Mayor not only through Hanrahan, but through Jack Clark, the Mayor's personal political spy recently released from jail, through Chicago's unfolding scandal of police spying, burglary, and

provocation against political and community groups that has resulted in yet more grand juries and more special investigations. Through the heart of all of this are the threads of the Hampton case. A prominent Chicago researcher and journalist following the case commented recently, "The same names, the same names are involved in all of it."

Mrs. Hampton's position was stated in her motion to remove Judge Perry: "Although we seek \$47 million in damages, there is not enough money in the world to pay for my son's life. The incident responsible for this lawsuit was a violent attack on members of the Black Panther Party. We look to the courtroom as the place where the true facts surrounding the deaths of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark can be discovered. This cannot happen unless the Court allows it to happen. I brought this lawsuit to learn once and for all what happened on December 4, 1969, and who was responsible. I have a right to know this; the public also has a right to know it. The City of Chicago would benefit from the truth being told." □

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into

cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to

defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

News Highlights From Around The Nation

FORD TAX PLAN HURTS NATION'S POOR

A series of new tax measures will come up before congress shortly. Under President Ford's proposal, part of last year's tax cuts to aid the working poor will be eliminated. The end of the "earned income credit" or the "work bonus" means that millions of the nation's poorest households--those with children and with incomes of \$5,000 a year or less including many senior citizens--will be worse off under this tax plan by as much as \$400 this year. Most businesses will receive a 10% tax cut and other "adjustments."

Meanwhile fights in the House Ways and Means Committee heated up over tax shelters for the very wealthy. Congressional sources explained how tax shelters work. A business executive who earned \$448,000 in one year, paid only \$1,200 in federal income tax. A \$151,000 a year lawyer escaped all federal taxes. So did a businessman with a \$282,000 income. An intense lobbying campaign is on to keep the shelters.□

BUSINESS FRAUDS COST CONSUMERS MILLIONS

A New York firm specializing in digging out corporate fraud and payoffs in business released a study saying that corporation bribes and kickbacks are costing U.S. consumers between \$5 million and \$8 million dollars every year. Norman Jaspan, president of the firm, cited recent U.S. Chamber of Commerce figures and commented, "Unfortunately, the poor consumer pays for this illegal activity" in the higher cost of goods and services."□

23 MILLION AMERICANS LACK READING SKILLS

The U.S. Office of Education released a four-year study which showed that more than 23 million U.S. adults are functionally illiterate--unable to read basic things necessary for survival such as help-wanted ads or grocery ads. "It is surprising, perhaps even shocking," the report said, that "one of five Americans functions (in reading) with difficulty and about half of the adult population is just able to function and not at all proficient in necessary skills and knowledge . . ." Less than two weeks later President Ford asked Congress to cut \$1.28 billion from education programs of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.□



CIA ASSASSINATION PLOTS DOCUMENTED

The Senate's 347 page report on CIA plots to assassinate leaders of other nations was released. It paralleled congressional reports on FBI operations and raised more questions than it answered. The report detailed numerous plots against leaders of five Third World countries: Castro of Cuba, Lumumba of the Congo, Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, Schneider of Chile and Diem of South Vietnam. All but Castro are now dead.

In addition, the committee's staff uncovered extensive political intervention in the affairs of many countries, including bringing down governments. Also discovered were vast CIA connections with organized crime (including Chicago mobster Sam Giancana and others) and links with international drug trafficking. Wide-

spread CIA activities inside the U.S. came to light during the investigation, including surveillance, mysterious deaths, burglaries, testing of mind blowing drugs on federal prisoners who were "paid off" in narcotics, and the development of a storehouse of sophisticated poisons and weapons that makes James Bond look like a babe in the woods. □

CHURCH COMMITTEE INTERESTED IN HAMPTON CASE

Senator Church's Special Senate Committee has had investigators in Chicago and expressed interest in learning the details of federal involvement in the Fred Hampton case. The Committee is considering a move to have Judge Samuel Perry's "secrecy" order lifted so that hundreds of government documents about the Hampton case which are part of a civil suit in federal court can be made public. □

SENATE CALLS FBI ACTIONS "DIRTY AND DANGEROUS"

Top lawyers for the Senate Intelligence Committee reported that the FBI spied on at least 530,000 people in the U.S. and that they "turned up almost no information of any value." They said the FBI used "rough, tough, dirty and dangerous tactics" in a 12-year domestic spy program.

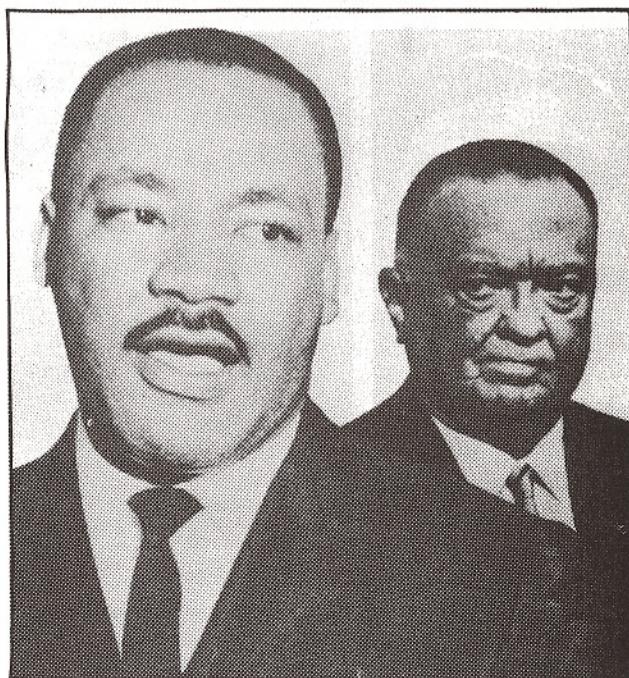
Tactics included sending poisoned food to members of the Black Panther Party, and attempts to set one group against another by staging armed attacks on Black organizations and making it appear that another group had done it to promote retaliation and fratricidal warfare.

Also presented were FBI memos after the 1968 Democratic Convention directing agents in Chicago to do everything possible to protect the reputation of the Chicago Police Department, including influencing the media.

Lawyers for the Senate Committee disclosed that for 30 years the FBI maintained a list of thousands of persons to be jailed in the event of war or a "national emergency." Chief attorney F.A.O. Schwarz said that when J. Edgar Hoover was ordered to destroy the "custodial detention list" in 1943 because it served "no useful purpose," he simply changed the name on the file which was then shared with military intelligence. □

CALL FOR KING MURDER INVESTIGATION TO BE REOPENED

U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi announced he may reopen the federal investigation into the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as a result of disclosures in Congress that the FBI had conducted a six year campaign to intimidate and discredit King, including sending him a note designed to make him attempt suicide. An FBI memo raised the possibility that the bureau was *at least* partially responsible for Dr. King checking into the Lorraine Hotel in Memphis where he was shot and killed in April, 1968. Questioning the Senate Committee's attorney who presented the new evidence, Senator Walter Mondale asked: "What was the threat the FBI believed Martin Luther King posed to this country?" Answer: "It's the threat of change."



Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Hoover

The FBI also admitted that it tried to prevent Dr. King from receiving an honorary degree from a college, attempted to block his planned meeting with the Pope, and tried to shut off the financial resources of his civil rights organization. *The New York Times* reported: "One possible explanation for the bureau's behavior was that Dr. King had angered Mr. Hoover by criticizing him for assigning conservative agents to southern field offices responsible for investigating the murders of civil rights workers. Another possible explanation is a racist attitude on the part of Mr. Hoover. All the time, the FBI had no Black agents because he did not want them." □

The Conspiracy Against The Black Liberation Movement

By David DuBois

Following is a speech delivered by David DuBois, spokesperson of the Black Panther Party, at a "Repression In America" conference recently held in Berkeley, California.

"In order to understand the nature, purpose and goals of the conspiracy against the Black liberation movement in America today, it is essential to examine the force of the ideas of socialism in the world today, the victories of the African liberation movements and the impact of the Third World nations on imperialism and U.S. monopoly capitalism.

"Despite continuing attempts on the part of imperialism and monopoly capitalism to discredit, stop and push back the advance of socialism on a world scale, socialism continues to be the ever increasing demand of more and more of the peoples of the world. This is particularly true in those countries and parts of the world where imperialist exploitation was most severe and ruthless — all those portions of the world we now call developing, or Third World. This includes Southeast Asia, Latin and South America, most of the islands of the sea and of course, Africa; those parts of the world that are populated by peoples of color.

"In this century we have witnessed vast land areas of the world secured from the threat of imperialist penetration and exploitation. Following in the great Leninist tradition of the Soviets, China rose up and swept its great land mass out of the potential grasp of Western imperialism. We have watched as the peoples of Southeast Asia, inspired by the example of China, are following suit. And, now, on the continent of Africa, Mozambique, Guinea and Angola boldly assert their intention to build socialist and communist states, and every Black leader on the continent hails their efforts.

AFRICA VULNERABLE

"This last is an intolerable situation for U.S. monopoly capitalism, current leader of world

imperialism. As the rest of the world shrinks from their grasp, Africa, nearly four times the size of the continental USA, rich beyond imagination in natural resources and human labor, remains vulnerable to imperialist penetration.

"Africa is defenseless against modern warfare; it remains divided, and suffers the ravages of natural calamity over large portions of its land areas.

Africa remains the hope for the survival of imperialism as it confronts the world sweep of socialism. Africa, firmly in the grasp of imperialism, will feed its war machine, already the most powerful in the world, and provide wealth to appease its masses. With Africa, imperialism can march forward in its never abandoned dream to destroy Soviet Russia and the new, arrogant People's Republic of China.

"But, to do this the U.S. power structure needs human cannon fodder. It needs the American people, or at least, the vast majority of them, to fight its wars of aggression; to operate its factories and essential services. It needs armies of occupation and administration. It needs loyal subjects, obedient and submissive. The most rabid wing of the power structure in this country today is hard at work making of the American people cannon fodder for its scheme of world hegemony.

"Within this country the greatest obstacle to the realization of this scheme is Americans of color, and most particularly Black Americans. This is the source of the conspiracy against the Black liberation movement in America today.

"The Great Civil Rights Movement of the sixties, which paralleled the rapid emergence into political independence of one African country after another, demonstrated to the power structure that this great mass of Americans will no longer docilely submit to the indignities, horrors and violence of second class citizenship. Try as they might to hide from us the continuing victories of peoples of color against colonialism, imperialism, racism and exploitation,

they do not fully succeed. As in the sixties, we took heart and strength from our cousins across the seas as they, one after another, resplendent in African garb, entered the international forums of the world; in the seventies we are inspired and further determined to join our forces with the militant forces of the Third World that are succeeding in exposing the schemes of U.S.-led imperialism, and contributing to its isolation.

PRIME TARGET

"So, is it any wonder that the Black liberation movement in America is the prime target within the belly of the monster?

"In Africa it is widely believed that the novelist and writer Richard Wright was killed by an agent of the U.S. government. Richard Wright's research on the continent had revealed to him crimes committed by this government against the peoples of Africa, and he was preparing to make public his discoveries when he mysteriously died. In Africa it is also widely believed that Whitney Young's death, while swimming off the Guinea coast in West Africa, was no accident. Whitney Young was the Urban League's uncompromising genius of an organizer, only beginning to feel the potential of his position and power.

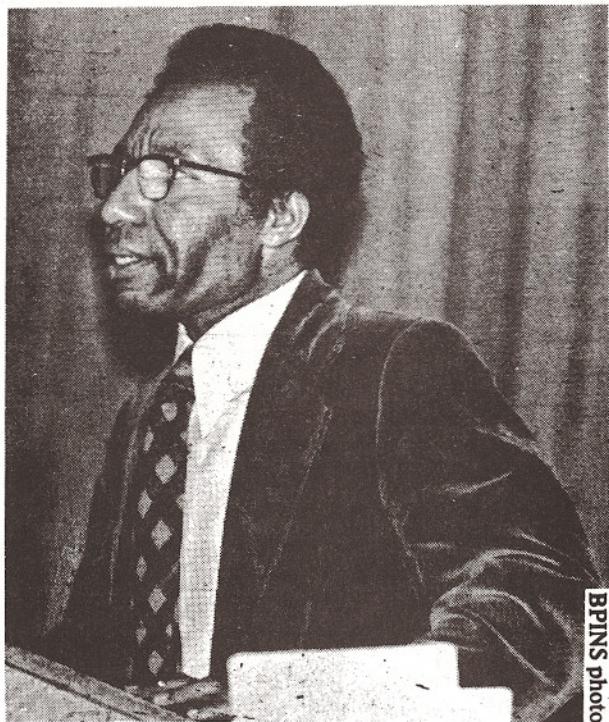
"On the continent of Africa an attempt was made to poison Malcolm X. That failed. The suspect was an Egyptian cook in the Alexandria guest house where Malcolm stayed. The cook had worked for Americans in Egypt for many years. The conspirators succeeded only weeks later on his return to the USA, making it appear like a fratricidal confrontation within the Nation of Islam.

"Few, very few in the Black community doubt that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was killed as a result of a conspiracy. We know that it was no accident that his death followed hard on the heels of his first and most dramatic public declaration describing the U.S. role in the war in Vietnam as racist.

UNDERMINE, DISRUPT, PROVOKE

"The COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) documents, a small fraction of what must exist, reveal the intensity with which the Nixon administration pursued its conspiracy against the Black liberation movement. Everything from assassins to alleged left-wing organizations were used against the Black liberation movement to undermine, disrupt, provoke, buy off and co-opt.

"It is now clear that the FBI, the White House Plumbers and numbers of other intelligence community agencies, directed and instructed



BINNS photo

"The U.S. power structure needs human cannon fodder."

local police and law enforcement outfits in a wide variety of illegal and murderous assaults on the Black liberation movement across the country. It is also clear that long term prisoners were released into the streets in return for the commission of acts against the Black liberation movement; that small time hoods caught in the act of a crime were promised no prosecution in return for acts against the Black liberation movement.

"The murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, leaders of the Black Panther Party in Illinois on December 4, 1969, was plotted under the direction of high level Washington personnel, and executed with the cooperation of an agent within the Illinois Chapter of the Party. Countless other assaults and so-called shootouts involving Black Panther Party members and Chapters around the country were the result of deliberately provoked situations involving informers and the carrying out of police FBI plots.

"The conspiracy against the Black Panther Party was the most intense of all the schemes. This was necessary, from the point of view of the power structure, because the Black Panther Party dared to arm itself for defense and then flaunt its determination to use those arms in the face of the power structure. It was necessary also because the Black Panther Party insisted upon its independence and Black identity, rejecting White participation and White leadership. It was necessary also, because the Black Panther Party dared to declare itself committed to the

overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism, boldly aligning itself with the militant liberation movements of the world.

WARNING TO THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

"The ferocity of the conspiracy against the Black Panther Party was meant to be a warning to the entire Black liberation movement. It was meant to demonstrate the futility of Blacks with guns; the impossibility of Blacks organizing and struggling without White leadership and involvement and the foolhardiness of the goal of the destruction of capitalism. It was meant to discourage the Black community from aligning itself with the Party and to discredit the Party in the eyes of the American people.

"The power structure had already witnessed the emergence of a massive antiwar movement that had been sparked by the Black liberation movement that preceded it. It was aware that the civil rights movement of the early and mid sixties acted as a model for the antiwar movement; that many of those who led the antiwar movement had received their training and experience in the civil rights movement; that the temporary victories won by the civil rights movement proved that a people's movement could win victories. The power structure had no intention of allowing the militant, armed, socialist oriented Black movement that arose out of the ashes of the civil rights movement to ignite a similar such movement among the general population.

"U.S. monopoly capitalism is determined to stop the movement toward socialism on the African continent. It is determined to preserve and maintain the racist regimes remaining in southern Africa.

"But, the African people are just as determined to guard the measure of independence and freedom they have now won, and to push forward to secure that freedom and extend it to the benefit of all the peoples of Africa and the world. They are determined to destroy the oppressive, racist, White minority regimes remaining on their continent. They are equally determined to build a socialist, united states of Africa.

RE-EMERGENCE OF RACISM

"This is why the conspiracy against the Black liberation movement continues to be the prime objective of U.S. monopoly capitalism. This is why we witness today a re-emergence of racism in all its ugly fervor across this country. The majority population of America must be programmed to support the schemes of the power structure involving war against Africa in the

name of the fight against communism in Africa.

"Only as the majority population remains convinced that Black Africans cannot know or understand the alleged dangers of socialism and communism, can the power structure succeed. Only as the majority population remains convinced that Blacks are incapable of managing their own affairs, of planning and executing the beneficial use of their rich natural resources, of mastering technology, of educating their children, of engaging in international diplomacy, of building humane societies, can the power structure hope to use this population against the African people.

"The danger that faces America today is that racism will keep the majority population silent and blind as the U.S. power elite leads this country into aggression and war to maintain colonialism and White, racist rule in southern Africa; and into open police state suppression of Black America's final bid for freedom and equity that will accompany it.

"IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE"

"It is America's racism that blinds the majority population to the steady march toward fascism in this country. Black America daily experiences fascist assaults against its person, its property, its dignity and its hopes and aspirations, while White America repeatedly declares: 'It can't happen here.'

"We call out the warning. But few listen because most are convinced Blacks do not know what we're talking about.

"It is America's racism that keeps it silent and unmoved as the power elite plots and aids in the carrying out of the annihilation of freedom fighters in southern Africa. Racism convinces America's majority population that those poor Blacks over there can't know what's really best for them. Only we know. And, whether they want it or not, we must defend them against the evils of communism, or socialism or even their own 'ism.'

"It is America's racism that allows it to keep silent as the U.S. power elite, using its money and the threat of its military, orchestrates and carries out one coup after another in Africa and around the Third World.

"Racism tells America's majority population that those poor, ignorant colored people don't know how to rule themselves, will never know. They will always be fighting among themselves. We must save them from themselves.

"It is America's racism that prevents its majority population from seeing or responding, with human compassion and outrage, to the injustice of the Black ghetto and the debt slavery

of the tenant farmer of the South; the blatant discrimination throughout American industry; the horror of teaching White children that going to school with Black children is harmful; denying the Black youth access to technical and scientific education; blatantly unequal justice in our courts; our prisons, houses of horror, with 60, 70 and 80 per cent Black inmates; our policemen patting a White juvenile offender on the head and taking him home to be disciplined by his father, while shooting to death a Black child.

"Racism blinds America's majority population to these and countless indignities that are Black life in America.

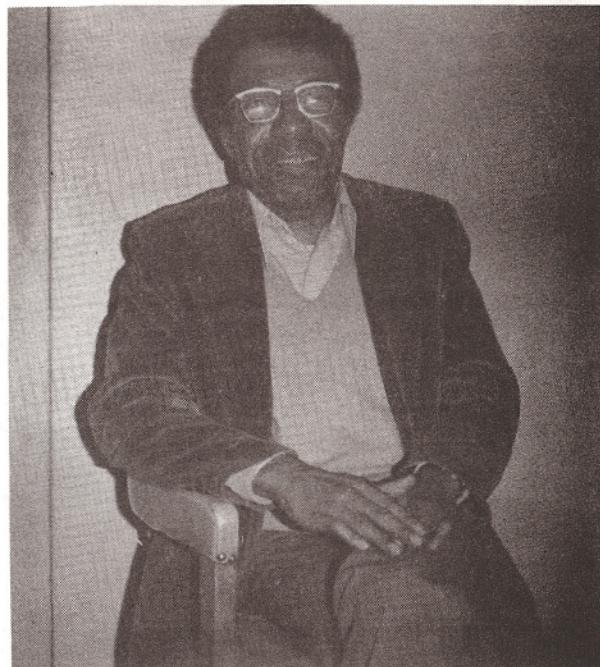
"Consequently, the fear is that racism will also blind and silence America's majority population when, behind the cry of 'traitors' occasioned by Black America's militant opposition to U.S. slaughter in Africa, the armed might of the power elite invades the Black community and takes first its militants, and soon after its entire population off to 'detention centers.' The ovens, or their electronic equivalent, will follow.

"The power structure is counting on racism within the majority population to substantiate racist lies about Black people. Thus, it is that New York City's crisis is by implication, being blamed on excessive services to New York's Black and large minority community; that narcotics are being poured into the ghettos; that education benefits are being cutback for Blacks; that the President of the country encourages opposition to busing; that courts across the country are ruling against affirmative action; that the KKK and Nazi gangs are emerging boldly everywhere; that lecturers are touring the country openly advocating racist theories about Black people; that cuts in welfare rolls are being blamed on Blacks who cheat; that crime in the streets is made to appear the sole occupation of Blacks; and that the courts and the prisons are being flooded with Blacks.

CONSPIRACY

"Yet, it is a conspiracy, subtle and vicious, aimed at feeding racist attitudes and feelings among the majority population. But, far more vicious, it is aimed at provoking violent, unorganized and reckless reactions from Black people. It is aimed at creating those conditions that will justify the most vicious repression of Black people. It is aimed at creating the excuse to suppress Black political resistance and militant advocacy, because the power structure knows that Blacks in mass will not fight against the African people in the interest of U.S. monopoly capitalist aggression.

"Although they kept it from the American



"The conspiracy against the Black liberation movement has as its ultimate goal the creation of fascism in America."

people, the experience of the Vietnam war taught them this. The stories of Black soldiers who were not fired upon by Vietnamese revolutionaries are legion throughout the army. And, the incidents of racist confrontations within the U.S. army, particularly between Black soldiers and White officers, are a major preoccupation. Pentagon officials tipped their hand when they recently expressed concern about the large number of Blacks applying for the volunteer army because they can't find jobs. An army that is nearly 25 per cent Black could not be counted on to wage aggressive war against Africa.

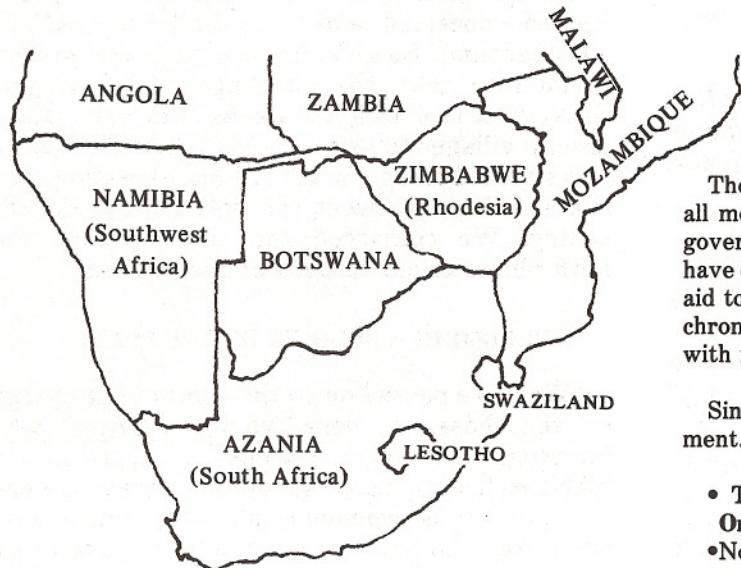
"The conspiracy against the Black liberation movement — past, present and future — has as its ultimate goal the creation of fascism in America. Black people are to be the scapegoats — the justification for the imposition of police state terror against the whole people. Violent repression of Black resistance to a war against Africa will require the usurpation of every democratic right still remaining for Black people. If the majority population of this country permits this to occur, then the power structure will have succeeded in setting the stage for fascism.

"Black survival then, is the key to the prevention of fascism in America. Defense of the Black liberation movement and the struggle against racism in all its forms is central to the building of a powerful people's movement capable of upsetting and defeating the plans of the U.S. power structure. That is the task we should all be about.

"ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE" □

INTERCOMMUNAL PERSPECTIVE

Zimbabwe



Zimbabwe, the beautiful homeland of over 5 million Black Africans, in southeast Africa, is ruled by a tiny white European minority of about 260,000 — less than 5% of the population. Called Rhodesia by the small white European minority that now rules under the leadership of Ian Smith, this country's government is one of the most tyrannical and racist to be found anywhere in the world today. No other nation has recognized Smith's government as a legal state.

The United Nations voted more than 8 years ago that all member nations cut economic relations with Smith's government. In direct violation, major western countries have disguised and expanded their economic and military aid to Rhodesia. The U.S. government continued to buy chrome from Rhodesia, and to aid the Smith government with money and war materials.

Since 1966, Africans have fought the Smith government. Their basic program is:

- The constitution of Zimbabwe must be based on One Person One Vote.
- No racial, ethnic, religious, or other group shall have special privilege.
- Majority rule now.

The liberation forces face the Smith government backed the armed might of the major western powers; South African troops have crossed the border to aid the Smith regime. Led by Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and its liberation army (ZANLA), more than 50,000 square miles have been liberated with a total population of about 3 million people. □

CONDITIONS FACED BY THE AFRICANS OF ZIMBABWE WHO ARE 95% OF THE POPULATION.

The Land Apportionment Act reserves 44 million or almost half of the best of Zimbabwe's 96 million acres of land for the 5 per cent who are European. Six million acres are under the direct control of the head of state, Ian Smith.

The Property Owners' Residential Protection Act permits the segregation of public facilities (parks, swimming pools, entrances to public buildings, and the like).

The Law and Order Maintenance Act and the **Unlawful Organizations Act** with other "emergency regulations" forbids gatherings, meetings, or demonstrations by Africans. The Minister of Justice can hold anyone under "preventive detention" (without charges or trial). Thousands of Africans have been held in concentration camps. Major African political parties are banned. Censorship over all media and public speeches is strengthened.

The Voting Qualifications provide that two voting lists are kept separately, one of Europeans and one of Africans. You have to have a certain income to vote.

Education. An estimated quarter of a million African children of grammar school age cannot attend school in their own country. High school education is available for all European children; yet only a few thousand African youth can attend. In Zimbabwe a European child has 1 chance in 125 to attend college; and African youth has 1 chance in 6,000.

Labor. The overwhelming majority of Africans are subsistence farmers barely eking out an existence on the land. Of all the rest of the workers in the country, Africans are 87% of the work force that produces the wealth. The average African income for an entire year is little over \$400. The average European worker makes 10 times as much. Unions are divided by race. A government permit is necessary for a union meeting, which cannot be held on a Sunday when most workers have the day off. **The Marshall Servants Act** allows any African who fails to carry out the instructions of his employer to be prosecuted criminally. □

Joining-Up

Following is part of the story of Sarudzai Churcucheminzwa, a young African woman of Zimbabwe who is fighting for freedom of her country.

"I WAS BORN OF A POOR FAMILY"

"Like most African families in Zimbabwe, I was born of a poor family. As I grew up, I strongly resented the attitude of society which deliberately underrated women's capabilities to mold society. It took away every inch of my pride as an equal human being.

"After finishing school, I was more disappointed with my life and my society because even with my successful school results I couldn't find a job. The situation was even harder for my parents, who had stretched all their resources to send me to school in the hope that I would help them when I finished. Instead they became poorer. I decided to go home and help my parents in the fields. With only five acres of poor, sandy fields and four heads of cattle for our family of twelve we just couldn't manage it. We were really finished.

"Most of my brothers were forced to go and roam the streets of Salisbury. Even after they left it was difficult to maintain ourselves. My mother and myself were compelled to go and work for a local boer farmer (white European settler). Almost all the women and boys worked for this local despot. In great contrast to the conditions of our family, this boer alone had a vast stretch of rich land, so big in fact that most of it remained idle. We really sweated with hard work for this boer.

"Our work ranged from ploughing and hoeing to cotton-picking and tobacco-picking and curing. The daily work was from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. with only 30 minutes rest at lunchtime all week except Sundays when we were required to stay indoors. Our pay was very meager. We were each paid only one dollar, two buckets of mealie-meal, and a few ounces of rotten beans a day. From this inhumane treatment it was easy for me to see how this boer owned a big luxurious house, several cars and a huge store.

"It was a revelation to me and my village when ZANLA (the armed wing of the liberation movement) opened my way to the struggle in 1972. ZANLA heroically laid down roots in the

Northeastern regions. Everyone began to revive hope for freedom, and the news spread around villages like wildfire. ZANLA spoke of the liberation of the poor and exploited. The idea of joining ZANLA didn't take long for me.

"My chief was to find ZANLA. Their presence was unquestioned, but during the initial stages it needed concerted efforts to find the ZANLA 'underground.' So a girl friend of mine and myself decided to take the challenge and hunt for ZANLA. It took us a few weeks of investigations around villages to find a ZANLA base. This base was situated along a small stream. Before we got into this base we went through a very vigilant sentry. We convinced the sentry about the faithfulness of our mission and intentions.

BECOMING A SOLDIER OF THE PEOPLE

"We were passed on to the comrade in charge of the base, a very young fighter, who interrogated us on the reasons we wanted to join ZANLA. To our surprise we were treated very cordially, thus removing all false impression about freedom fighters that had been fed to us by the troops (of the white government) that occupied our village. All the fighters in this base were very young, most still in their teens, and very joyful. We were admitted into ZANLA; thus fulfilling our long and much awaited dream.

"To our dismay the comrades were reluctant to show us how to handle a gun. They were more interested in our grievances than in our excitement to fight. Two weeks were, therefore, reserved for analyzing our grievances against the boers and the reasons why political understanding takes precedence over military action.

"In the new community of ZANLA, I was treated as an equal. We did the same tasks as male comrades. We performed patrol duties, carried war material, guarded our bases, and cooked in turns with our male comrades. We were frequently given missions through villages. Although such tasks were sometimes painstaking and tiresome, we enjoyed ourselves enormously because we always took comfort in the fact that we fought the boers when we were prepared, and we received abundant support from the masses.

"We recruited more female comrades who have since swelled our ranks. We now have a ZANLA WOMEN'S DETACHMENT. It is heartening to see the broad masses of women in Zimbabwe join ZANU in fighting against the racist government of Ian Smith. We are a decisive force in the success or failure of the Zimbabwe revolution." □

"PAMBERI NE CHIMURENGA • FORWARD WITH THE REVOLUTION"

The Day I Was Born

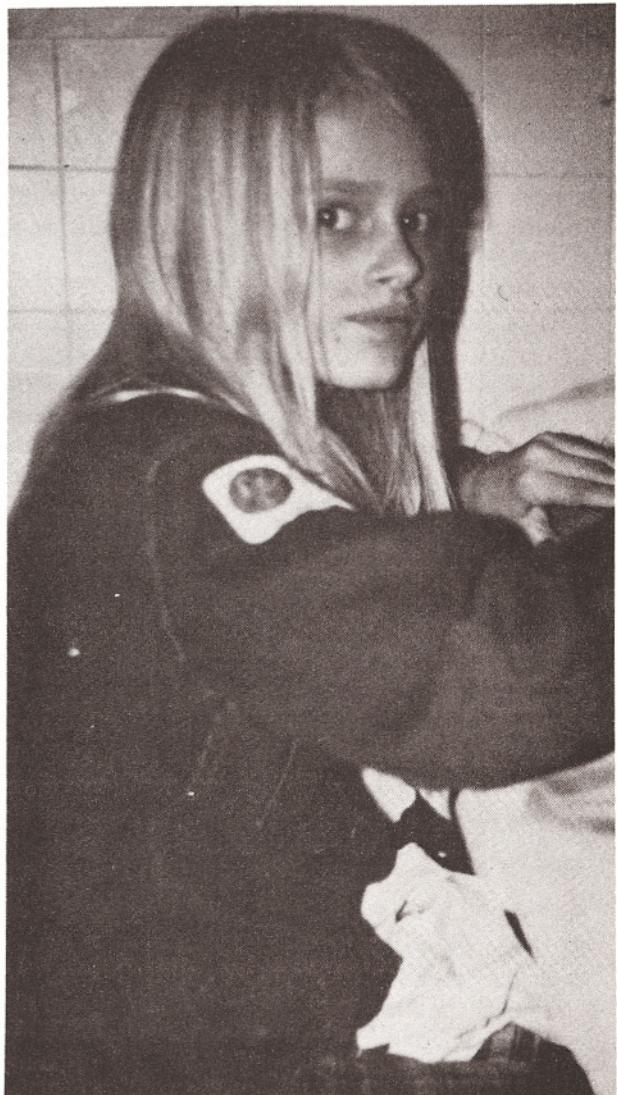
JUST A STORY

A Poem by Tina Tremelling

The day I was born,
I was in a world of my own.
I didn't know right from wrong.
I didn't know good from bad.
I didn't know much at all.
But as I got older
I could hear, see, think, touch and feel.
And then I began to realize
What these words meant.
They meant a lot to me.
And I know they meant a lot to
everybody.

To hear the bullshit going on around
you.
To see the people dying because they
don't have food to eat.
To touch the ones you love and care for.
To think of how you're going to survive
in this world.
To feel the pain you have to go
through in this world.
That's what these words meant to me.

And then when I got a little older,
I learned a new word.
This word was called freedom.
Freedom is a thing a lot of people
were fighting for, for a lot of years.
And still are fighting for.
And I hope we get the freedom
That we're fighting for. Soon.



Tina Tremelling, Age 13, Community Artist of the Month

**"Surely the future
belongs to those
who will live it."**

Huey P. Newton

NINETY-NINE SHOTS

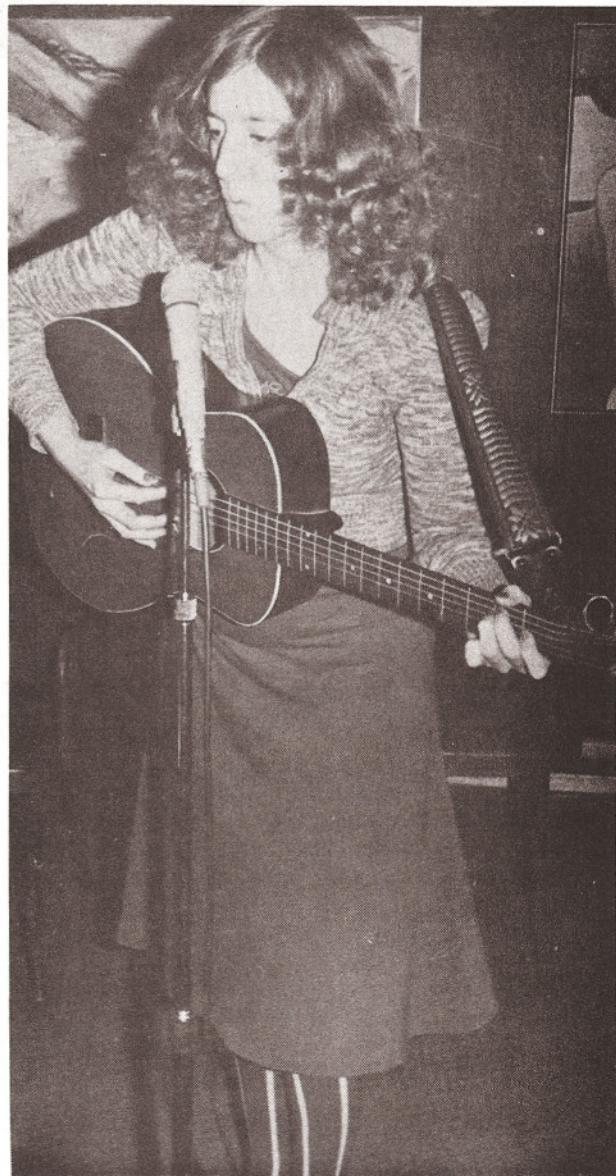
We so easily recall how we came
from our history.
Then so easily forget, how today forms
our destiny.
Because all our lives we've been told
that the future can't be foretold.
By those who are afraid of the new, who
will die clinging to the old.

And it wasn't no ninety-six tears
were shed
No nine hundred ninety-two arguments said
But ninety-nine shots still ring
through my head
I remember Mark, I remember Fred.

As we look at the world around us, we
can always see one thing;
Some things are dying, others are
coming into being.
Sisters and Brothers are dying to see a
brighter world unfold.
Sisters and Brothers are trying not to
treat each other so cold.

And it wasn't no ninety-six tears
were shed
No nine hundred ninety-two arguments said
Two bullets came from behind and
travelled through his head
I remember Mark, I remember Fred.

Hanrahan, Oh Hanrahan, you shot our
Chairman dead.
You thought that you killed him, but you
killed yourself instead.
You thought you killed the movement
when they're lives you did erase.
But "Whenever one of us falls, a
thousand more will take his place."



Kim Nash singing "Ninety-Nine Shots" at a recent ISC community forum. This song was written on December 4, 1973 for the Brothers incarcerated at Pontiac Correctional Institution on the anniversary of the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

And it wasn't no ninety-six tears
were shed
No nine hundred ninety-two arguments said
But ninety-nine shots still ring
through my head
I remember Mark, I remember Fred.

"HURRICANE"

By Bob Dylan

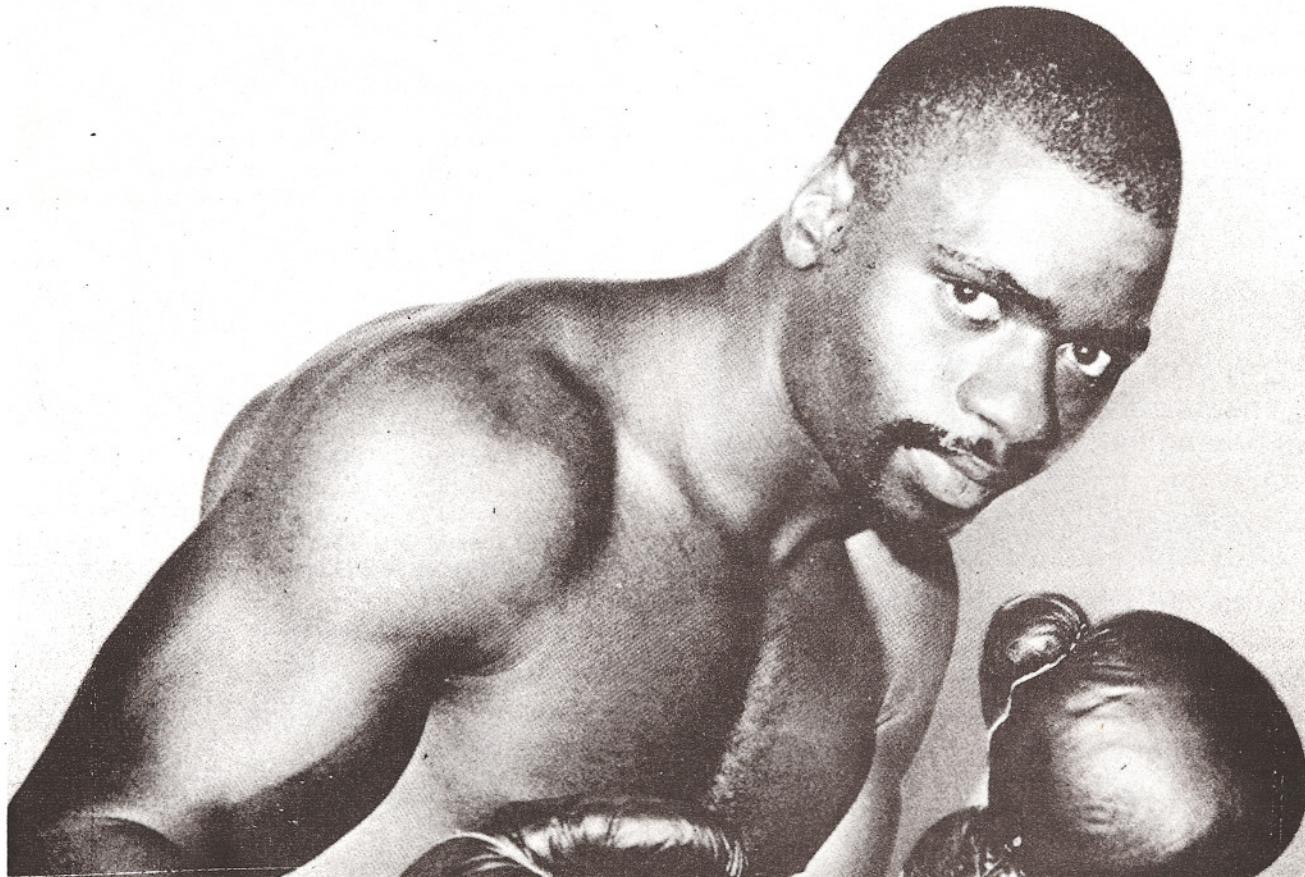
After 18 months of seclusion, Bob Dylan is performing live concerts again. Using his real name, Bob Zimmerman, he is playing small clubs in medium sized towns. Performing with him on his tour are Joan Baez and Ronee Blakely (from the movie *Nashville*). They have named their troupe "Rolling Thunder."

It seems that Dylan is once again writing and singing songs about the struggle of oppressed people for survival. When Dylan first started out and was trying to deal with social injustice in the early '60's, it was the courageous and beautiful struggle of Black people in the south that got him into motion. Now, it is once again the struggle against racism that has moved him back towards the people.

The vicious frame-up of Brother Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, a Black man and former

middleweight contender, on a triple murder charge, has moved Dylan to put out a 45 RPM record telling the story. Brother Carter has been incarcerated for 8 years. He is struggling for a new trial and has received support from Muhammed Ali, Joe Frazier and many other Black and progressive people.

The song takes up both sides of the record. Musically, it's pure Dylan. The tune is like several from his "John Wesley Harding" album, with a little more polish, and a more driving rhythm. He does a fine job of showing what the case is all about. "Hurricane" Carter wasn't conforming to the racists' idea of what a Black boxing star and "media hero" should be. Besides being outspoken against the boxing establishment, he was outspoken about civil rights and the right of Black people to self-defense. So they





Ronnee Blakely and Bob Dylan

found a way to pressure two poor white men—their selves waiting trial on a series of robbery charges—into testifying against Carter. Dylan shows how the police used racism and the threat—that if they didn't lie for the sake of the "white race" the full weight of the system would come down on them:

Remember that murder that happened in the bar?
Remember you said you saw the getaway car?
Think you'd like to play ball with the law?
Think it might have been that fighter that you saw
running that night?
Don't forget that you are white.
Arthur Dexter Bradley said, "I'm really not sure."
The cop said, "A poor boy like you could use a
break.
We got you for the motel job, and we're talking to
your friend Bello.
If you don't want to go back to jail, be a good fellow.
You'll be doing society a favor.
That son of a bitch is brave and getting braver . . ."

So they brought Brother Carter to trial:

Rubin Carter was falsely tried.
The count was murder one; guess who testified?
Bello and Bradley — and they both know they lied,
The newspapers all went along for the ride.

And:

And though they could not produce the gun
The D.A. said he was the one who did the deed,
And the all-white jury agreed.

Dylan expresses very well the cynical use of "law and order" by politicians and what that has done to "Hurricane Carter":

How can the life of such a man
Be in the palm of some fool's hand?
To see him obviously framed
Couldn't help but make you feel ashamed
To live in a land where justice is a game.
Now all the criminals in their coats and their ties
Are free to drink martinis and watch the sun rise
While Rubin sits like Buddha in a ten foot cell
An innocent man in a living hell.

Dylan ends the song with a plea for justice:

Yes, that's the story of "the Hurricane"
But it won't be over till they clear his name
And give him back the time he's done
Put in a prison cell
But one time he could have been
Champion of the world.

Of course, it's the power of the people that will clear "Hurricane's" name. Dylan's song is a welcome contribution to the struggle. Just like with Dylan, or any other artist in America, it is true for all of us that when we come to grips with what racism is, we can get past all the exploitation and self-destructiveness that this society creates and begin to function as creative, free human beings. We should all put our best efforts into Brother Carter's struggle as Dylan has. □

COMMUNITY FORUMS

The ISC community forums last month focused on problems young brothers and sisters in our community are faced with. One of the biggest of these problems is contradictions between youth of different neighborhoods, races and cultures. The forum discussions emphasized that city policies such as urban renewal and racist practices in the schools and on the job encourage and develop these divisions.

A fine film called *Trickbag*, made by Kartemquin Films with the assistance of Rising Up Angry, was shown to a packed house. The film showed short discussions between young brothers and sisters around Chicago neighborhoods discussing the "trickbag" racism, and some good discussions followed the film along with community entertainment provided by Chuck and Lee Doyle and Sue Simon.

Another well-attended forum discussed problems on the Sunnyside mall and established task forces to work for better recreational facilities and to meet with the Chicago Police to stop the "police terror" on the mall. The month had been started with community residents participating in a spirited march downtown to support the Independence of Puerto Rico and the demand that 5 Puerto Rican prisoners be set free. □



Monthly country-style breakfast.

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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The Intercommunal Survival Committee, publishers of **KEEP STRONG**, have been selling **THE BLACK PANTHER**, primarily to white people, for over 5 years now. Thousands are sold on the street, thousands more are delivered regularly to home subscribers. Articles from **THE BLACK PANTHER** are also frequently reprinted in **KEEP STRONG**. The many regular readers among poor and progressive whites is testimony to the relevance of this fine weekly paper to all oppressed people.

Of all the many contradictions and confusions that divide poor and oppressed people, racism is probably the most vicious and most destructive to unity and power. So much of the society we live in is shaped by the way it oppresses Black and third world people, that to understand our own situation as whites, it is necessary also to understand the situation of Black people.

The Intercommunal Survival Committee also believes that the concrete example of the Black Panther Party, the methods of successful struggle, the implementation of many survival programs serving the community, are models from which we can learn in defending ourselves, our families and our own communities from those who would use and abuse us for their own profit.

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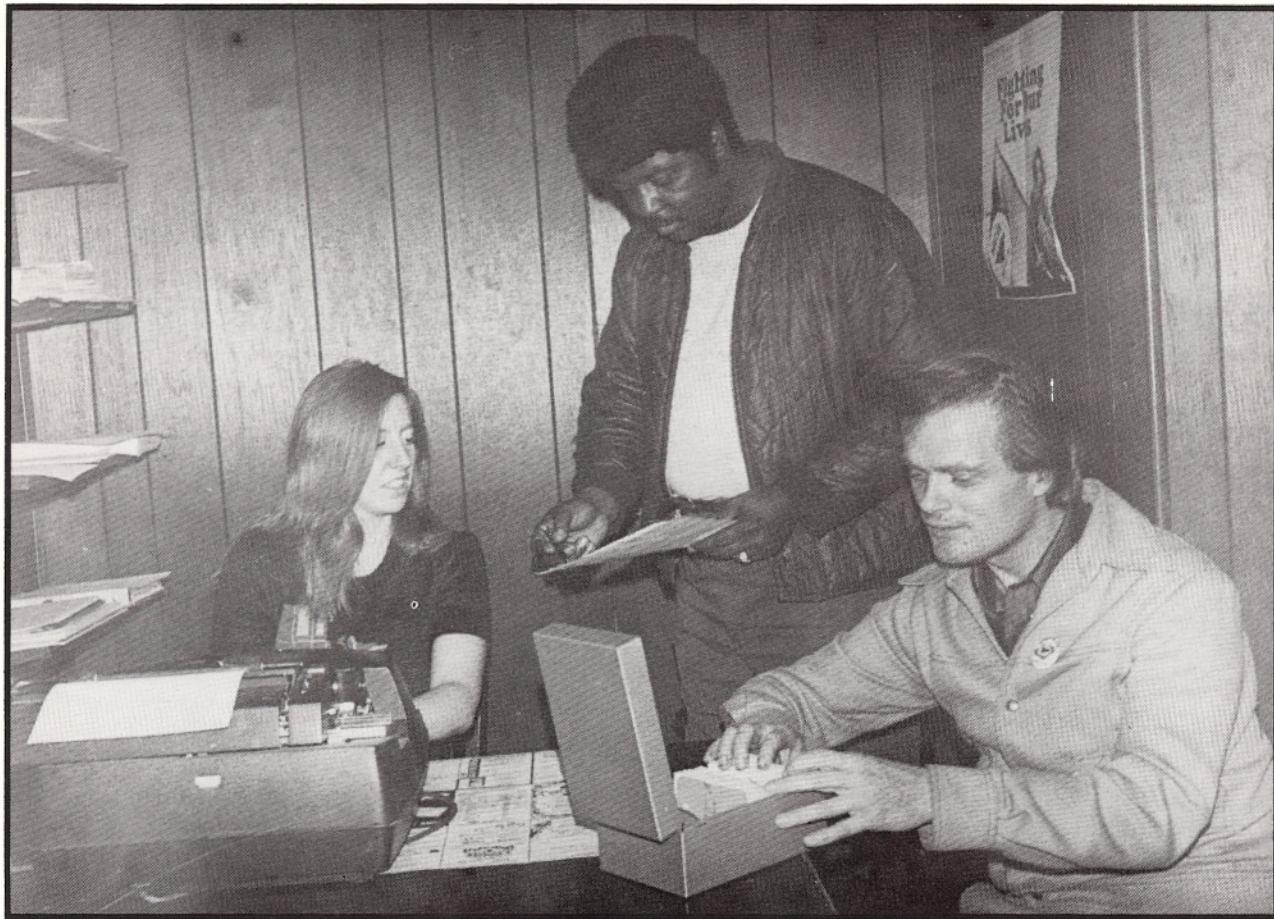
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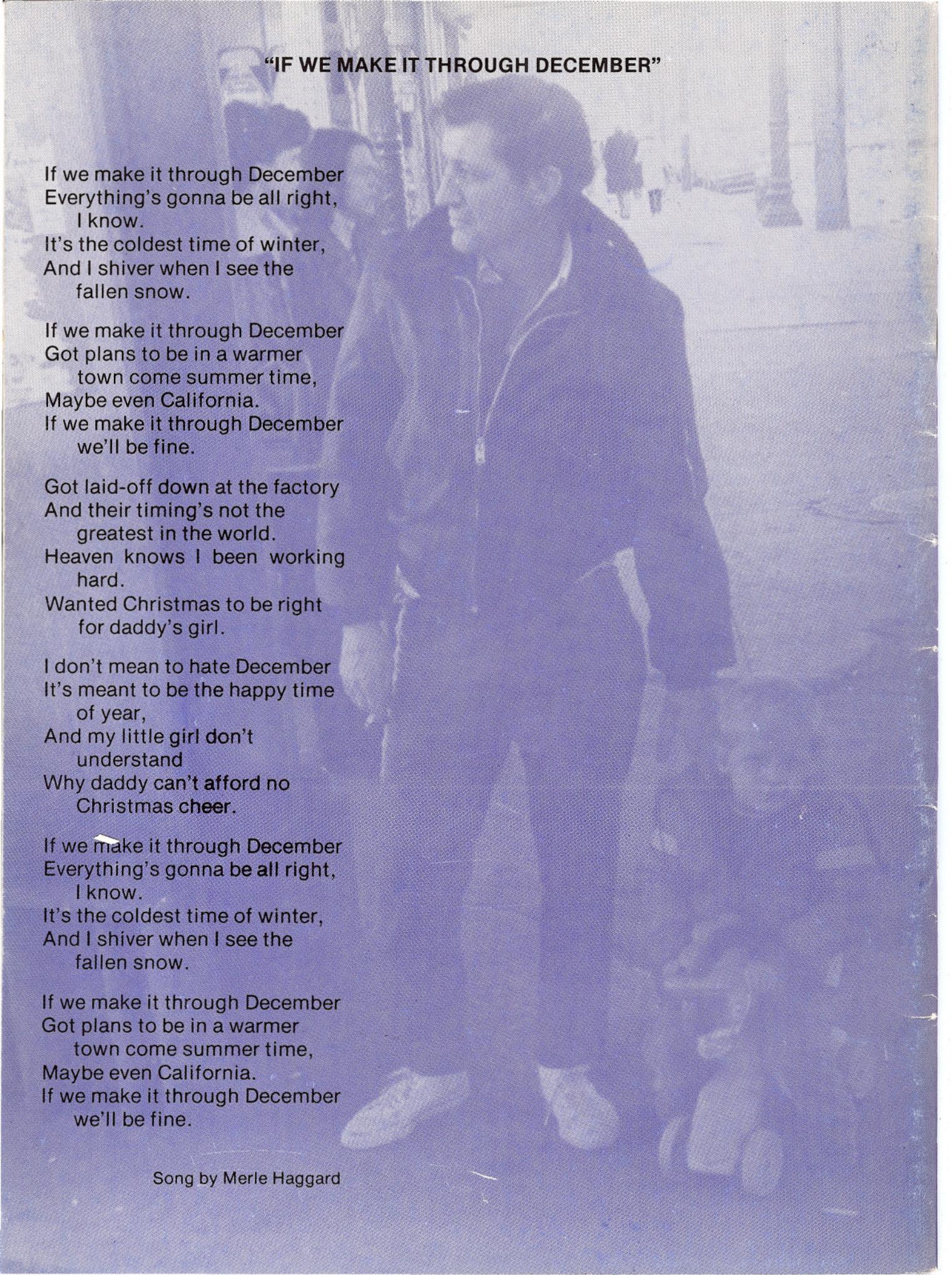
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"IF WE MAKE IT THROUGH DECEMBER"

If we make it through December
Everything's gonna be all right,
I know.

It's the coldest time of winter,
And I shiver when I see the
fallen snow.

If we make it through December
Got plans to be in a warmer
town come summer time,
Maybe even California.
If we make it through December
we'll be fine.

Got laid-off down at the factory
And their timing's not the
greatest in the world.
Heaven knows I been working
hard.
Wanted Christmas to be right
for daddy's girl.

I don't mean to hate December
It's meant to be the happy time
of year,
And my little girl don't
understand
Why daddy can't afford no
Christmas cheer.

If we make it through December
Everything's gonna be all right,
I know.
It's the coldest time of winter,
And I shiver when I see the
fallen snow.

If we make it through December
Got plans to be in a warmer
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Song by Merle Haggard